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THE war ends with the completest conceivable defeat of the Central Powers, and with the equally complete acknowledgment of that defeat by the nations of Central Europe. They have unequivocally repudiated the governments which have brought so much disaster upon them and their enemies. As a consequence of Allied victory the most formidable conspiracy which history records against the peace of the world and against the liberation of its peoples has been foiled; and as we look back over the process of its defeat we can, if we think in terms of traditional theology, hardly avoid considering it providential. Certainly there is something different and deeper than the conscious plans and preparations of any body of men which has worked against the success of the conspiracy. If the rulers of Germany and Austria-Hungary had planned a little better, if they had placed a truer estimate on their own resources and the opposition aroused by their ambitions, if they had behaved so as to keep their possible enemies divided rather than united, they might finally have succeeded. But the very nature of their mania for power brought with it an unscrupulous arrogance, a willingness to risk complete defeat in order to obtain complete victory and an underestimate of the latent opposition which finally forced America into the war against them and assured their defeat. And if the German leaders under the influence of a morbid compulsion became themselves chiefly responsible for their own defeat, so the political leaders of the Allied nations cannot in any real sense be credited with the merit of victory. Just as the German autocracy was merely the slave of a gigantic militarist neurosis, which its leaders were unable to control so the statesmen of the Allied countries were aided by the moral forces which are intrinsic in democratic social organization, but which they never sufficiently developed and trusted. It has been, as the President has said, a people's war, and the peoples of the world are going to place their own interpretation on the nature and consequences of the victory which they have brought about.

OVER a half a century ago a democratic statesman, the most thoroughly democratic statesman in history, uttered truths about a war which was then coming to an end which are more true about the greater war that has just come to an end than any statesman of our own time has had the imagination to divine or the courage to express. "Neither party," said Abraham Lincoln in his second Inaugural Address, "expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already obtained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and for a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That

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of neither could be answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses! For it must need be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which in the providence of God must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove and that He gives to *both North and South* this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?" "With malice towards none! with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gave us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for the widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." There was a deep kinship between the passion for power which obsessed the German mind and dominated German politics and the passion of the southern slave owners for undisturbed power to own and exploit other human beings. But the North had connived at the unholy thing just as the democratic nations had participated in the property and power politics which Germany only pushed to an outrageous excess. Let us judge Germany if we must, but let us remember that at the same time we are also judging ourselves.

IT was a foregone conclusion that the armistice terms would be such as to make impossible a renewal of hostilities on the part of Germany. That is why the specific military details of the armistice, dramatic as they are in themselves, already have the flavor of past history, except in so far as they may throw light upon the future determinations of the peace conference. The surrender of guns and ships, the evacuation of occupied soil on the west or on the east, even the evacuation of the German Rhenish lands and the bridgeheads beyond the Rhine, offer no clues to the character of the peace that will follow. The old Germany would have been deeply humiliated by these provisions, and national humiliation has a bearing on peace. But the old Germany is no more, and to the new Germany the laming of the army's fighting power is an assurance against a military coup d'état. So far, then, the armistice provisions are only effective guaranties of the victory democracy has won. In the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, however, the armistice clearly foreshadows the terms of peace. Alsace-Lorraine is specifically enumerated among "invaded countries" to be evacuated within fourteen days. The German territories to be occupied by the American and Allied troops are to be administered by the local authorities; the upkeep of the army of occupation is to be charged upon Germany. But these provisions do not apply to Alsace-Lorraine. What this means is that Alsace-Lorraine is treated as French soil by the Allied Powers, of whose unity we have received repeated assurance.

FOCH's alterations of the armistice agreement are generally accepted by the press as harsher than those agreed upon by the Supreme War Council. In some points they are in fact harsher. The German transport system is to be more heavily mulcted, by the surrender of 150,000 cars instead of 50,000. All submarines are to be surrendered instead of a specified number, which may, however, have exceeded the number Germany actually has. The number of aeroplanes to be surrendered is reduced, perhaps on account of a realization that Germany has less in good condition than had been supposed. Also, the zone east of the Rhine to be evacuated is reduced. The additional military exactions are offset by military concessions, and it is difficult to say on which side the balance lies. Foch's revisions appear to be directed against the revolution, rather than against the old military power of Germany. What else is the meaning of the provision that the occupied territories are to be administered, not by the local authorities, but by the armies of occupation? France does not want Red government on the west bank of the Rhine. And the provision that the German troops must remain in Russia until they are ordered out by the Allies is equally plain in its intent. France does not want the Bolshevik forces to occupy the border states in the interval between German withdrawal and Allied occupation—if Allied occupation should happen to be decreed by the Supreme War Council.

NOW that Germany is beaten and prostrate the most immediate need of the Allied nations is a new policy towards Russia. The existing policy of armed intervention was originally justified as an answer to German penetration in Russia and as an attempt with Russian assistance to restore the eastern front. These explanations are ceasing to have any meaning. German influence is no longer penetrating Russia. Russian revolutionary influence is penetrating Germany. Intervention did not succeed in restoring the eastern front, because it met with Russian resistance rather than with Russian help. If under such circumstances the Allied troops remain in Russia it can only be for one purpose—a purpose similar to

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that which kept German troops in the Ukraine, Lithuania and the Baltic provinces. It will mean that the Allied governments have decided to overthrow the Soviet government in Russia and establish in its place a government more to their liking. If this is their decision, the sooner they communicate it to the world the better. It is not a decision in which the government of the United States can participate without abandoning the whole spirit and method of its past attitude towards revolutionary countries, and for this reason we hope and trust it will not be taken. The policy of intervention in Russia could be carried out only by an enormous military force which would be obliged to overcome the most stubborn and embittered resistance on the part of the ruling political faction. Under existing circumstances it would be a dangerous and perhaps disastrous adventure for any free nation or group of free nations which undertakes it.

IN putting an estimate on the material and moral costs of intervention American public opinion should attach due weight to a new fact of the utmost importance. The military collapse of Germany, accompanied as it has been by a political revolution, has strengthened Bolshevism in Russia. The ordinary Russian will consider the break-down of German morale and the appearance of revolutionary committees in Germany as a sufficient proof of the final efficacy of Bolshevist propaganda. Bolshevism did not thrive, as so many people in this country erroneously imagine, on the friendship of Germany. It throve on the hostility of Germany. Just before the final downfall, the German government drove the Bolshevik representative out of the country, because it feared him as an instigator of revolutionary agitation. Bolshevism will not be weakened by the fall of the government with which it signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. But it will obtain a substantial increase in prestige as a consequence of the advent of the revolutionary proletariat in Austria-Hungary and Germany. Its adherents will have some excuse for thinking themselves justified by events, and they will be confirmed in their fanatical determination to fight it out. They will consequently be able to command the support of a larger percentage of the Russian people than they could two months ago, and they can put up a stouter resistance to an army of occupation. If this account of the fundamental facts is true, it would be well to extricate the Czecho-Slovaks in the neighborhood of Samara without any delay and to abandon further military intervention. Bolshevism must be overthrown not by armed force but by restoring to Russia some of the essential conditions, which she now lacks, of economic and political order.

WHAT is the source of the lies about Russia which are being so systematically disseminated in this country? A couple of weeks ago the statement was published on the front pages of the eastern newspapers that on November 10th the Bolsheviki were to indulge in a general massacre of all their class opponents. But what actually happened on or about that day? The following dispatch published in the New York World may give some idea. "The Soviet Council in Petrograd has adopted a resolution giving amnesty to all arrested hostages and persons alleged to be involved in plots against the Soviets, except those whose detention is deemed necessary as a guaranty for the security of the Bolsheviki who have fallen into enemy hands." Instead of a St. Bartholomew a feast of reconciliation. The lie is published in the most conspicuous part of all the newspapers in the country. The truth is published in an inconspicuous part of one newspaper, whose contemporaries carefully abstain from copying. Is the case against the Bolsheviki so weak that it has to be sustained by lies?

ALL the other nations associated with France must wait until the peace conference for the realization of their war aims. France realizes her paramount war aim in advance of the peace conference, by the terms of the armistice. All other national aims are to be weighed in the scales of international justice and expediency. Alsace-Lorraine is to go to France under the principle of unquestionable historic right. How are we to account for this discrimination? By the unshakable determination of Clémenceau. Let us recall that the name of Clémenceau first pressed itself upon the attention of the world as one of the signatures to the manifesto of the Extreme Left against the cession of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871. That manifesto denied the right of the French Assembly or of the entire nation to cede Alsace-Lorraine to Germany; it declared null and void, in advance, every vote or plebiscite whereby any part of those provinces might be ceded; it affirmed that whatever might happen, the citizens of those territories remained the countrymen and brothers of the French people; and it promised the people of Alsace-Lorraine eternal vindication. Of the thirty-eight deputies who signed the manifesto few now are living. It was fated that one of them, Clémenceau, should live to realize the promise to its full extent.

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Victorious Sea Power and Its Responsibilities

> When victory comes the responsibility for America and Great Britain will rest not on statesmen, but on the people. The future of the world will rest very largely on what the English speaking people decide.
>
> Lasting peace is a matter of the greatest interest to England and America. It must have justice as its foundation, on which let us erect the superstructure of a new international order, which will insure justice and consideration to the least as well as the greatest; which will make certain the sanctity of treaties; which will substitute international cooperation for international competition, and which will plant the seed of a new system.
>
> We shall have to reconcile two principles; namely, national sovereignty and international cooperation. Only those who have tried to reconcile those principles know the difficulty.
>
> LORD ROBERT CECIL.

IF any one nation or people in the anti-German alliance is more responsible than the other nations or peoples for the victory over Germany, that nation undoubtedly is the British. The British commonwealth has contributed to the ultimate triumph the decisive industrial and economic weapons. The French army did, to be sure, play a more important part than did the British in the military operations, and the French nation after being so grievously wounded by the original invasion has been incomparable in its subsequent moral endurance and elasticity. But the military operations were not the decisive agency of German defeat. The armies were at bottom the spear heads of several different types of economic and political organization, and the victory was won because of the irresistibility of the economic and political reenforcement brought by the British commonwealth to the anti-German alliance. British control of the seas, depriving Germany as it did of indispensable economic contact with other countries, gradually starved the body of Germany's industry. The same control of the seas supplied Russia, France, Italy and finally the United States with trustworthy lanes and sufficient vehicles of communication. The British navy and mercantile marine furnished the indispensable physical bond for a necessarily scattered coalition. British credit and British industry sharpened every weapon used by the other enemies of Germany. British vessels enabled them to draw upon the whole world for their supplies. In the final crisis of the war they carried to France the American troops which constituted Foch's indispensable strategic reserve. In spite of the vast extent of the military operations and the final collapse of the military resistance of the Central Powers, the victory over Germany is in the final analysis a victory of sea over land power.

It is not the first time. Thrice before in the history of modern Europe military Powers have taken advantage of a temporary preponderance in effective physical force over their continental neighbors to seek the hegemony of Europe, and in every case Great Britain and British sea power have contributed the decisive weapons to their defeat. No continental nation has as yet been sufficiently strong to dominate both the sea and the land. When the military, economic and naval strength of the leading maritime people was thrown into the balance against the aggressor, it was sufficient to make his triumph impossible. Yet British sea power has never in the past abused its victories. German propaganda depicted the British maritime supremacy as a huge cuttle fish whose arms invaded the seven seas of the world and sucked sustenance and tribute from their inhabitants. It was a monstrous perversion of the truth. The British commonwealth has, of course, benefited enormously from the combination of industrial precocity and an instinct for colonial expansion with maritime supremacy. It has built up the greatest colonial empire of history. But in its competition with other industrial and colonizing Powers, it gradually abandoned a grasping or a selfish policy. Its war ships policed the maritime highways of the world. Its mercantile fleet transported the greater part of the world's commerce. But less than any other nation did the British seek to convert economic power and opportunity into exclusive privilege. Its economic policy in respect to its own markets and those of its dependencies, its political policy with respect to its self-governing dominions, was disinterested and enlightened.

The victory over Germany leaves the British commonwealth in most respects more powerful than did the victory over Napoleon, but in one respect more precarious. Sea power now occupies a more strongly fortified position than it did one hundred years ago, because militarism, as contrasted with navalism, has suffered a terrible and probably a final defeat. There is at least a fair chance that the passing of the Hohenzollern, the Hapsburg and the Turkish Empires will liberate popular political forces on the Continent sufficient to put an end to the use of huge armies as the instruments of national aggression. But even if this consequence does not follow, if the European peoples fail to use their opportunity and the danger of aggressive militarism should continue, British sea power cannot be challenged for the present by any one or any combination of European nations. No continental Power will possess the resources for several generations to build war ships in competition with Great Britain. Moreover, British sea power, just when it has definitely

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triumphed over European competition, obtains as a consequence of that triumph a largely increased control over the destinies of the world. During the next generation overseas commerce will increase enormously in volume, and every nation which participates in this increase will place in the lap of the Mistress of the Seas hostages of good behavior. For the British government has during the war gradually done away with all the previously accepted limitations upon the ability of sea power to destroy commerce between neutral nations and its enemy. Blockade and capture at sea, as it has been recently practiced by the British navy, is equivalent to the power of life and death over rival commercial nations. If the British commonwealth as the embodiment of sea power can succeed in writing into international law the right of destroying the commerce of its enemies and neutrals which it exercised in 1916, no hostile European state can afford hereafter to dispute the will of the British nation at the cost of war. The only chance of contest still retained by an enemy sea power would turn on the possession of improved types of submarines and aeroplanes in sufficient numbers to attack British means of communication under the water and in the air, and an effort will certainly be made by Great Britain at the Peace Conference and after to outlaw such guerrilla warfare.

But the Mistress of the Seas, while she has become relatively secure against the challenge on the part of her European neighbors of her greatly increased power, is exposed to a graver possible danger from another quarter. The present victory of sea power differed from previous victories in that in this instance Great Britain had to call a non-European nation of enormous but undeveloped maritime possibilities to her assistance. As a consequence of its participation in the war, the United States has built up a great army, a considerable navy, a colossal machine for the production of military supplies and an enormous mercantile marine. Its military, naval, industrial and commercial machinery is still inferior to that of Great Britain, but the American people possess sufficient resources to make it superior. Potentially it is the most dangerous competitor with which British sea power has ever been confronted. The American no less than the British commonwealth is the creature of improved means of maritime transit and transportation. It depends on the sea for its vital communications. Practically all its foreign commerce must be carried in vessels. Less than any other nation in the world, except the British commonwealth, can it be indifferent to the prevailing system of maritime law in peace and war. American belligerency was the result of German terrorism on the high seas. Future American prosperity is conditioned upon the security and the freedom of the maritime highway. At once because of its relatively untouched economic resources, the increase of its shipping and ship-building equipment, and its national interest, only less vital than that of Great Britain in maritime intercourse, the advent of the United States as a possible future competitor for the title and emoluments of Mistress of the Sea is the gravest of the many grave and new facts which the war has forced on British statesmen for their consideration.

Robert Cecil's statement, quoted at the head of this article, should be interpreted in the light of this view of the nature and the limits of the victory of British sea power. Sea power has won this war and has secured an iron-clad control over the routes and vehicles which nations must use to communicate one with another. The importance of this control cannot be exaggerated. It is the nearest approach to world dominion which any one nation can attain. But because of the advent of the United States as a maritime power, the American people are actually sharing this dominion with the British people. As Robert Cecil says, the future of the world will depend upon the way the English speaking peoples use this power. If they disagree and compete with each other for the exercise and the profits of world dominion, they will introduce into modern civilization a more costly and irreparable quarrel than that which has just been smothered in blood. If they combine, but use their combined power in order to secure for an Anglo-American capitalist trust a privileged position in the world economy, their union will be equivalent to a mere conspiracy in exploitation and will eventually be wrecked by internal dissension and the resentment of the other peoples. But if they combine and use their combined power in the interest of lasting peace with the League of Nations, popular liberty and the golden rule as its foundation, then and then only will they remove the curse from their excess of dominion and vindicate the victory of sea power over land power. Loyal and thoroughgoing cooperation between the British and American nations will constitute the indispensable condition of the working internationalism of the future.

American and British liberals have, consequently, no more important and critical work ahead of them than to insist on such cooperation and to reach an agreement as to the ways and means of bringing it into existence. They will not have an easy task. It will demand, as Robert Cecil intimates, the voluntary acceptance by both nations of irksome and costly limitations upon their accustomed freedom of economic and political action.

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On their side, Americans cannot afford to challenge British naval supremacy. No plan of co-operation among nations will work without a limitation of naval armaments which will leave the British commonwealth the preponderant maritime Power. The number of war ships built and maintained by the country should be regulated by joint agreement and should be adjusted to the part assigned to the United States in the policing of the international highways. It will be no less necessary for the British nation to keep for the present a majority interest in the ocean-carrying trade. Vital as it is for Americans to share this trade with their British associates it is no less vital for the British commonwealth, whose constituent nations are tied together by maritime routes, to operate on those routes a proportion of the ship tonnage of the world commensurate with her preponderant maritime interests. On the other hand, Great Britain should be willing to assign a certain definite part of this carrying trade to American ships and should submit to the imposition of international standards of wages and hours of labor and working conditions. If such an arrangement is not made, the American government would be presented with an impossible choice between a sacrifice of American labor standards to which the organized workers in this country would not submit, and a mercantile marine which would be either unprofitable or made profitable only by subsidies.

In return, however, for this express recognition of British maritime supremacy by America and the rest of the world, the British commonwealth should consent to a drastic limitation upon the subsequent exercise of the decisive power. It should effectively secure America and the other traders of the sea against any possible use of its maritime supremacy for a policy of national economic and political aggression. The power of life and death over rival commercial nations which Great Britain has obtained is an essentially imperial prerogative. Nations who prize their own liberty cannot afford to vest it in any one of their number, unless the privileged people agrees to hold it in trust and exercise it in subordination to a super-national authority. It was this future condition of international cooperation which President Wilson sought to secure by the stipulation in his fourteen points about the freedom of the seas. The British government was justified in asking for the suspension of this stipulation until the Peace Conference assembles and a League of Nations comes into existence, but the suspension is only temporary. The American nation entered the great war, as it entered the Napoleonic wars, because the international highways, so essential to her own security, were being terrorized. She is willing to waive her old conception of the freedom of the seas, which consisted in placing legal limitations upon the ability of sea power to interfere with neutral trade during war. The United States has ceased to be a professional neutral and is willing at the expense of its traditional isolation to assume in combination with other nations a positive responsibility for international order. But Americans have a right to ask in return for some absolute assurance against the abuse of maritime imperialism. The indispensable condition both of a League of Nations and future Anglo-American cooperation is the emancipation of the world's maritime highways from violence except for objects explicitly sanctioned by immaculate and disinterested international authority.

The Pivot of History

BEFORE the events of the last two weeks, vast in themselves, portentous in their promise, the mind staggers. What has happened baffles comprehension; what is still to happen defies the boldest imagination. The greatest war in history has come to a cataclysmic end. Victory, of a conclusiveness beyond hope, has been attained. Yet there is something greater in the present time than even the most stupendous victory. For the moment the whole order of political and social life is in flux. There is not anywhere any recognized power except such as is derived from the will of the peoples. Every ancient right of princes or castes or classes to dispose of the wills of other men is on the table for liquidation. At this instant of history, democracy is supreme.

Democracy is momentarily supreme, as in every state it is supreme upon the convocation of the constituent assembly. We are not, however, under any illusions as to the capacity of democracy to maintain its supremacy unabated. With the first act of a constituent assembly democracy is subjected to restraint. When the final act has been signed, a new basis of minority control has been laid. The ambitious and the designing have received their charter to win power to themselves. So it has always been. So it will be when a new order of international life has been laid down by the peacemakers. The old bonds are falling from the world; new bonds are forging. But the new cannot be so strait as the old. They cannot hold so stubbornly when the time comes for the next great outburst of the human spirit.

The empire of the Tsars was an anachronism, as the whole world knew. That it would fall, and, falling, would crumble into dust, was expected. There was in it no living spirit that could adapt it to the requirements of modern life, spiritual or

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material. But the empire of the Hohenzollerns appeared to stand on a surer footing. It had apparently learned how to win to itself the minds of a whole people. Apparently it had subjugated to its purposes the most powerful material forces of the time. The success of imperial Germany, material and intellectual, was a powerful challenge to democracy. Where, it was asked by the enemies of democracy, was the command of man over nature greater than in Germany under the Kaisers? Where was the pursuit of knowledge conducted with greater energy and success? Where, except in the new lands, was prosperity more widely diffused, the security of life and living more firmly established? True, the Germans were not free. Their supreme political interests were conducted, not by them, but for them. But they were conducted wisely, and were not the people content? And did it not follow that elsewhere in the world the peoples' interests would be most wisely conducted, their happiness best secured, if the competent minority in fact though not in form possessed themselves of the supreme power? There can be no doubt about it; the example of Germany, playing upon the imagination of ambitious men in every country, was eating away the foundations of democracy. That example gave color of morality to political usurpation.

There were indeed a few shrewd observers who tried to convince the world that everything was not so well with imperial Germany as appeared on the surface. The contentment of the people was an illusion: so it was often asserted before the war. A mysterious ferment was reported as early as 1900. "Either a war or a revolution, and if war, victory or revolution," was a prediction current in narrow circles long before the almost forgotten assassination at Sarajevo. The war came, and the revolution, and with it the verdict of history upon the rule of hereditary autocrat and hereditary aristocracy. There is no modern salvation except in democracy: that is the clear lesson of Germany's pride and her humiliation, of her brutal aggression and her final desperate effort toward the saving of her life and the redemption of her soul.

Today, with the politics of the world in liquidation, we stand with open arms before German democracy. Tomorrow, perhaps, we shall turn upon Germany a face of stone. The antidemocratic forces in our own midst are stunned into silence: soon they will be clamorous. Where is our revenge, where is our money, if Germany becomes a really democratic nation? A constitutional monarchy, good; a liberal republic, controlled by responsible men of business, better. From either it is possible to extort territorial concessions, indemnities that will be paid, commercial concessions. But with what stomach can we tear away territories from a people really free, politically and economically, impose upon them crushing indemnities, commercial subjection? Still, they are helpless, and we have a world-wide spirit of vengeance awakened against them. Shall we not press our advantages to the utmost, take what we will and set up in Germany forms of government which may insure the performance of such contracts as we impose?

Germany lies apparently prostrate before us, as Russia apparently lay prostrate before Germany at Brest-Litovsk. Germany wrote her own peace terms, seized for herself what she chose. But she did not cap the forces of revolution unloosed with the fall of the Tsar. Throughout her body politic she is now feeling those forces in operation, the more violently because of Brest-Litovsk. We are now in a position to impose a Brest-Litovsk treaty upon Germany. But we shall not cap the forces unloosed with the fall of the House of Hohenzollern. Whether or not we shall draw them violently against ourselves stands written in the unrolled scroll of fate.

But what we can be sure of is that however we may use or misuse the present opportunity, the downfall of the one government in the world that offered a serious challenge to democracy will exert a continuous and cumulative effect upon the political life of all mankind. Democracy will go forth with its faith in itself renewed. Institution after institution, now apparently as solid as human nature itself, will be judged anachronistic and condemned to destruction. For a century all history will pivot upon the great war, and the greater events of the last weeks. The French Revolution ushered in a new era. The European Revolution now under way is ushering in a new world.

The Uses of an Armistice

IN another month we shall be sick of the word "reconstruction." It will go the downward way of "preparedness," "camouflage," "scrap of paper" and other belabored words and phrases that are turned over and over until they become dog-eared. It will be the most common word in the vocabulary of 1920. There will be a dogmatic savor to it. In this sign, mobilized appetites as well as high ideals will seek to conquer.

We must make the best of it. We may come to hate the word, repeating itself endlessly like the railings of a scold, but we ourselves must use it. Though we fight against follies and reactions masquerading as reconstruction, against new repressions and new subordinations, we ourselves are

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forced to advance our own reconstruction proposals. Reconstruction is the most immediately urgent thing. Let us therefore get clear on the subject and try to see, for our own satisfaction at least, what reconstruction is.

It is a rebuilding, a change from a war to a peace structure of society. It is not a mere return to the old peace structure, which is outworn and dismantled beyond repair. We must all of us live in the new building which is to be built, and therefore each group in the community, and almost every individual in each group, wishes to be its architect. We are in danger of losing all plan and direction in the multitude of counsel.

Moreover, as is already obvious, many elements in the community do not want reconstruction at all. The war, they say, is over; let us therefore return to our businesses, our golf, our loose comfortable old slippers, our loose comfortable old society. Reconstruction, they more than suspect, is a covert device of radicals to disturb things, to change the methods of business and alter the balance of power in the community. Men of a certain type feel that today is an excellent time to make money fast and, incidentally, to make an end of the pretensions of labor unionists, who have had things too long their own way. They want less, not more, social control; they want rigid governmental economy, free initiative, free contract, full property rights, stalwart Americanism, not paternalism, Bolshevikism and Prussianism. And it is not only conservatives, who have something valuable to conserve, who talk thus. All those people, who were born middle-aged, all the constitutionally timorous, all the sessile groups, whatever their pecuniary position—instinctively feel that the less innovation just now (it is always just now) the better. They want to get back to things as they were, and then in due course they will take up each new proposal on its merits.

To all of which there is but one answer: impossible. We cannot go back and cannot stay where we are; for better or worse we must go forward. Our only choice is to walk or to stumble forward.

The whole issue hinges on social control. For forty years and more we have been steadily but too slowly widening the sphere of this control, subordinating the individual to the group and the the group to society. Without such control, vastly magnified, we should not have been able to carry on the war. Being a virile nation therefore we threw over all theories and conventions which threatened to defeat our purpose, and during the war we revolutionized our society. We conscripted lives, property and services; we took over railroads, telegraphs and other economic instruments. We fixed wages, prices, the quantity of coal, power, labor or transportation a man might command and the quantity of food he might consume. We stopped motoring on Sunday. All this we did on the narrowest of legal bases, for no one dared question our power. We did many arbitrary things, most of them wise and necessary, some of them unfortunately foolish and vicious, because it was war and the emergency was severe. The Executive took astonishing short cuts while the inhibitory courts, like palsied old men, lagged trembling behind. Social control was a necessity of war and unrestrained private initiative was contraband. Upon the basis of a control such as the United States has never before seen, rapid transition was made from a peace to a war economy.

Suddenly to remove that control would be to court disaster. Having carefully mobilized our men, munitions and industries we cannot planlessly demobilize them. The whole tremendous structure would come crashing to earth. Immense values would be destroyed, fortunes would disappear, and we should have panics, unemployment, strikes, lockouts, riots—perhaps even incipient revolution. Go back to the freedom of contract of 1914, and we could not even prevent foreign speculators from buying away our raw materials and crippling our industries. We need a national control in order to reintroduce our soldiers and munition workers into ordinary industry without friction, in order to educate those workers, to save them from unemployment or insure them against unemployment, to prevent waste of raw materials and of half-finished war products, to convert war plants, to restore foreign commerce, to regulate foreign exchange, and the flow of gold from country to country, to prevent speculation in necessities, to forbid the manufacture of articles which cannot be used or exported, to establish a procedure and a priority in the use of the labor and material of the United States in order to assure a healthy recovery and to prevent an unequal, anarchic, ill-balanced development, which would inevitably lead to economic disaster. We need social control during a period of transition in which price fixing, wage-fixing and the establishment of priorities will be as necessary as they were during mobilization.

The need of temporarily maintaining such controls will be recognized by most responsible elements in the population, for no one wants the great crash. Men who hate "paternalism" will submit to regulation for a year or two rather than face a panic and depression worse than any the country has ever experienced. Fortunately the armistice will furnish the opportunity in which to perfect our plans for demobilization alike of men and of war industries. The armistice will be a state of

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peace in war. It will bring about the essential conditions of peace, and will remove the need to prepare for war, to train new men, to manufacture new mountains of explosives. At the same time the legal state of war will continue and the war powers of the President will remain. Given these wide legal powers, and given also a general sense of responsibility, we should be able to make our transition with a minimum of friction and loss.

The men who desire no reconstruction will hope that this social control will be transient. They will make a solacing distinction between transition and reconstruction. By transition they mean " bringing the boys home " and " averting the great crash "; by reconstruction they have in mind a totally undesirable changing of the bases of society. But *transition is reconstruction.* Our society today is as fluid as molten iron; it can be run into any mold. Let it once harden, however, and any change, however slight, will be obstinately resisted. It is during this period of transition, therefore, when we are doing things *temporarily* that we shall map out the course of our development for decades. We shall use social control, for that control is a recognized necessity. The great question, however, will be whether we are to use that social control wisely or unwisely.

To meet the needs of this transition, which is, as it were, the beginning and the crucial stage in the great period of reconstruction, we shall require all the judgment, knowledge, discipline, cooperation and good-will of which the nation is capable. We shall need unity and leadership. We shall require a subordination of class and sectional interests to the interests of the nation, as well as an adjustment of these to the larger world interests. Without a just sense of proportion, without a sense of the continuity of economic development, we shall not advance far. Our General Economic Staff, composed of specialists but, as a staff, free from the narrow vision of specialism, must see our transition (and reconstruction) tasks not as a thousand separate problems, to be decided individually, but as interdependent parts of one intricate, composite problem. It must see it as a problem of growth; it must see it as a social or human problem affecting the interests and welfare of classes and groups, and capable of solution only if those interests are carefully weighed and fairly considered. In this task of reconstruction there will be room for experts and visionaries but no room for doctrinaires. For what we are deciding is whether we are to have cooperation in this country or a future civil war, whether we are to erect our building on solid ground or to build it over a volcano. We are facing an undramatic crisis.

Censorship and the Peace Conference

ONE of the moral tragedies of a war for freedom and democracy against autocracy and irresponsible authority is that the crusaders for freedom are themselves compelled, for the purposes of their war of liberation, to adopt the very methods and principles against which they fight. In any war of the dimensions of this, it is inevitable that secret conclaves of diplomats and bureaucrats should settle, not alone questions of technical detail, but matters of broad and far-reaching general policy affecting the lives of millions during generations, without any sort of consultation with the people whose destinies are thus so irresponsibly disposed of.

Such decisions as those forbidding French, British and Belgian Radicals and Labor men to send their delegates to this country may have been necessary or wise, but the needs of war have carried us far beyond the negative policy of repressing views hostile to the governments to the positive position of organizing propaganda for the formation of governmental opinion. We have seen grow up in all the belligerent countries vast bureaucratic machinery—true Colleges of Propaganda—deliberately designed for the shaping of political opinion by the centralized government. That result is achieved mainly by manipulating the dissemination of information; autocratic and generally secret bodies deciding that the knowledge of such and such facts shall be kept from the public, such and such other facts especially emphasized and perhaps especially prepared for their consumption. In this way governments are in a position to determine the opinions of their subjects through the control of the knowledge on which those opinions are formed. This control of the mind of a whole people by an autocratically-working body is the method, in all its purity, pursued by Prussia for so long, the very corner-stone of the system which has given the conscience of her people into the keeping of her government, and made possible certain moral results which have astonished the world.

But the German military machine is now reduced to virtual impotence. There is not a chance that it can overcome the resistance of civilization. The all-covering plea of military necessity can no longer be invoked. And the questions which now arise are: How long after the cessation of hostilities is such a regimen to be maintained? Is it to be prolonged through the whole period of the Peace Conference? Is the state of war technically to continue until after the treaty of peace is signed, prolonging thus the regimen of " controlled " opin-

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ion until after the issues of the war are settled? Are the governments still to have authority to refuse passports to one group of Labor leaders and grant them to the rival group? Are extremely conservative papers as vehicles of public opinion to circulate at the conference while Labor and Radical papers are to be prohibited? Are the Espionage and Sedition Acts to cover the expression of opinion on all the points of the settlement? Will long penitentiary sentences, for instance, still be imposed (as they have recently been imposed) under those acts for expressing opinions unfavorable to continued military intervention in Russia?

There is little realization of what these questions really involve, because there is so little realization of the transformation which has been wrought in the governmental methods of democracy during the war. The development of a military censorship, limited to preventing the dissemination of news likely to be of use to the enemy, into great governmental organizations for the promotion of certain political opinions, and for that purpose having authority to withhold facts and prohibit the public discussion of the broad issues of peace and war, has been largely unnoticed by the people as a whole, and where noticed has not met with any real opposition. The opinions suppressed were presumed to be unpopular opinions, and nobody really minds the suppression of opinions contrary to his own or the imprisonment of people with whom he does not agree.

Still less has there been any realization that however serviceable such methods might be on behalf of a reactionary and authoritarian policy, they are bound in the end to be fatal to the promotion of an international policy like that for which the American Government happens to stand. It sounds a paradox, but it is certainly the truth, that the net result of the efforts at establishing an American censorship and propaganda for the promotion of American policy has been to aid in the undermining of that policy and to encourage the forces working for its destruction. Certain events of the last few weeks show clearly enough, to put it at its mildest, that large masses of American opinion are in danger of slipping away from the support of the President and all that he stands for in the way of a new international order, and of surrendering to the natural instinct to impose a punitive peace of power. "Temper" has risen against the President in many quarters. It is obvious that in the minds of many voters there has been no very clear understanding of the relative importance of the international issues as compared with such domestic ones as the price of wheat and the future of the tariff. How could there be? The former are very new issues for the world, most of all for America; and understanding of them, and the preservation of the balanced temper which alone can insure wisdom in them, could only result from real discussion, the presentation, that is, of both sides. But it is notorious that the result, whether intended or not, of the sweeping powers given to Messrs. Burleson and Gregory, has been, not to stop discussion but to prevent any adequate contribution to it by those who favor the President's internationalist policy. The editors or publishers who have been embarrassed in their work or terrorized into platitude, the clergymen who have lost their churches, the professors their chairs (and the attitude of the law has immensely strengthened heresy-hunting tendencies) are those who, even when they urged much that the President would not approve, did urge the internationalist features of his policy. No reformist and revolutionary policy—and a proposal like the League of Nations is extremely revolutionary—was ever successful without the aid of that moral impulse which comes from men in some respects "extreme."

But the institution of Military Censorship and College of Propaganda do not work merely for the elimination of the forces favorable to a League of Nations in America. There is set up an unconscious cooperation with the reactionary and conservative minority in Europe to destroy the influence of the popular majorities there which might otherwise give success to the President's policy.

Mr. Wilson has more than once had the courage to make public reference to two extremely important facts in the present international situation. One is that the present governments in Europe do not always necessarily represent the policies and aspirations of their peoples. The other is that he gets more ready sympathy and support from the European peoples than he can sometimes from the governments. The first of these facts is self-evident. Certain governments among the Allies do not profess to be based for the time being on suffrage. A country which, like England, had again and again elected radical and liberal governments, is now represented—without election—by a government drawn mainly from the right wing of conservatism. Such a government was—very properly, without doubt—chosen largely for its administrative capacity in the management of war, without reference to its politics. But the time has come when the politics are all important and, for the moment, administrative capacity less so. For the present government will be responsible for deciding the broad principles on which the future life of organized society shall be led, which of the rival policies mankind shall follow for some generations. It is these fortuitous governments which are in control of the immense machinery of propa-

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ganda and opinion-making, with results that an instance or two will suffice to illustrate.

It will be remembered that when the President replied to the German note by certain queries, the procedure was bitterly criticised by the President's opponents in this country, who thought the note should have been met by a brusque refusal to discuss anything whatsoever. In support of the policy urged by those critics, much European opinion, newspaper and other, was quoted. There was sitting at that time in one of the Allied countries an important Socialist conference. It passed a strong resolution unanimously supporting the line taken by the President and attempted to telegraph that resolution to America. Not a word of it reached any American newspaper. In fact, during the period between the receipt of the first German note asking for an armistice and the present time, the reader may hunt through the immense mass of European opinion given in the American press without finding any but the scantiest and most perfunctory references to the attitude of Labor, Radical and Socialist bodies. Yet these, after all, are likely to be predominant political parties in the near future, and even today represent perhaps anything from fifty to eighty per cent of the population.

They happen to be, to a man, the most ardent supporters of the President's policy, and to have affirmed their support many times, most formally and completely. Yet of that support the American public hears virtually nothing, although any day one may read in newspapers hostile to the President that "England" or "France" is opposed to this or that feature of the fourteen points. And, under the system of contacts which the censorship ensures, there is plenty of apparent evidence for those statements. Thus the New York Tribune was able to quote the best part of a column of French and British newspaper opinion to prove that Europe is opposed to the fourteen points. From what sources are those opinions taken? Three French papers are quoted. It suffices to indicate their character to say that two of them are so far representative of the Third Republic as to be avowedly and formally royalist organs—in favor of the restoration of the French monarchy. The third approaches very nearly to that political order. The opinion of "England," which is cited to the extent of nearly a column, is that of Mr. Leo Maxse's "Globe." Mr. Leo Maxse is, of course, that combination of Tirpitz and Bernhardi done into English whom most English folk do not take seriously, however much they may be entertained by his truly magnificent gift for vituperation expended upon every public personage of liberal views, including, and especially in the quite recent past, Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson, their persons and their principles.

This matter has a very especial concern for America. "Democracy" does not consist in popular approval of policies, the nature of which the public has no opportunity properly of understanding. If democracy is to be only less perilous than autocracy it must decide with all possible knowledge of the case upon which it is passing judgment. Not otherwise can it be anything but a gamble or a sham. Censorship and governmental propaganda as now practiced are incompatible with democracy because they mean the autocratic and irresponsible control of the minds which determine the policy of the state. The very first of the President's fourteen points is that the covenants of peace shall be "open covenants, openly arrived at." He has again and again insisted that it must be a people's peace. Neither of those conditions can be fulfilled if the machinery of censorship be extended to the period of the Peace Conference. Indeed, it comes to this: Are the decisions which will confront mankind during the next few months—amongst the greatest decisions of all history—to be made by the people themselves, freely conferring and discussing with the full knowledge of the facts, or by governments—many of which will lack popular mandate—having the power to withhold essential facts from the knowledge of the people, to forbid the conference and contact of those most concerned? Are freedom of speech and of press—the things which we are demanding as the very sign and symbol of the fitness of others for self-government—the things which we ourselves shall respect? Or, are the decisions of the war waged to make the world safe for democracy to be made by methods as autocratic and Prussian as any which have marked peace-making since the constitutional era began in Western Europe?

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Socialistic Coal

THERE are sad limitations now on individual energy in getting coal. You have a factory in eastern Ohio making a commodity which the War Industries Board has refused to mention in any class in its Preference List. It is a non-preference factory. You are allowed to accumulate fifteen days' supply of coal. And there you stop. You may get up in the morning bubbling with more energy than any other man alive, but as long as you have a fifteen days' supply in your bins your State Fuel Administrator will cut you off from further activity in the coal market.

In the meantime your neighbor in Maine is a poor stick. But he is manufacturing a commodity which inhabits Class One in the Preference List. And he lives in a region into which it is difficult to transport coal in the winter-time. He is allowed to accumulate a supply for 135 days. And you may be perfectly sure that until such people are warm, you will not be permitted to get any warmer. Mr. Franz, the Fuel Administrator for Ohio, in the course of twenty-four hours after the Storage Restriction order went into effect, stopped all further immediate shipments of coal to 747 factories.

A place is found for the principle that coal shall go to those who need it most for the benefit of the country even if those who need it least may be abler.

And then there are "zones." If you are assigned to Zone A, you get your coal from mines in Zone A. If you are assigned to Zone P, you get your coal from mines in Zone P. And you may know a nice hard-pressed coal-operator in Zone B or K or M who would be willing to let you have a thousand tons below cost, but it does you no good. It would clutter up the railways. It would interfere with the routing-schemes by which the Railway Administration and the Fuel Administration save a great many miles of haulage every day. And so you cannot buy from a man who is willing to sell. And you may weep for the law of supply and demand along with the law of the survival of the fittest.

And you may well weep. They were slain in the house of their friends. They were slaughtered not by Bolsheviki but by fellows getting five thousand and twenty thousand and fifty thousand dollars a year who are now working as volunteers for Mr. McAdoo and Dr. Garfield.

But you may claim that you cannot burn the coal from Zone P. You may say that it will not work on your grates. This thought will make no impression on a paternalistic government. Tomorrow morning an "expert" (detestable title for a really quite decent and modest person) will arrive from the Fuel Administration and make that coal work on your grates all right. Few are the cases in which he fails.

After which you spend a few minutes gratifying a paternalistic government's passion for statistics. Every week you send a little card to your State Fuel Administrator and to the Statistical Division of the Fuel Administration at Washington saying how much coal you have received during the week, and how much you have burned, and how much is left. And Mr. Lesher, Director of the Statistical Division, shuffles these reports in their thousands and other reports in their other thousands arriving continuously from factories, mines, railways, ships, docks. He shuffles them with a great multitude of hands.

Men and women sit at machines translating cards which are filled with words and figures into cards which are filled with punched holes. Other men and women take the cards with holes and stack them into machines which forthwith cast them out again, sorted according to the holes. Still other men and women preside at great tables on which little objects looking like flags are moved from area to area as reports arrive and get sorted and get added and get published and get filed.

Your super-statistician used to have a green shade over his eyes and dusty volumes piled on so much of his table that he wrote on the wall and papers fluttering on his floor and young ladies who thought him an old dear and ruined his life-work by tidying up the floor while he was out. This person can be seen on the stage now, which proves his obsolescence. In life today your super-statistician seems to be a tense and brisk executive who operates a computation-factory in which a mass of employees take raw facts from the receiving-platform and refine them into finished conclusions, fresh every hour, so that on the morning of October 4th Mr. Lesher lets you know (by mimeograph) that on October 3rd the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad loaded 104 cars of coal in the Wheeling District, thus bringing the total of cars loaded by that railroad in that district for the current week to 573.

The coal process of America, by such work as Mr. Lesher's, is now being studied and analyzed and pictured and understood, as a whole, for the first time.

And, by seeing the spots where there is weak-

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ness, we make progress. "Car Shortage," after having gone up during the last part of August, began to go down during the first part of September through special effort by the Railway Administration. And in the week of September 28th we did a thing for which Pershing might well send his thanks to the Railway Administration, the Fuel Administration, the coal-operators and the miners. We got out 13,128,000 tons of coal. Compare it with last September.

In last September, between what we did in the first week of the month and what we did in the fourth, there was a gain of one million tons. In September of this year, between what we did in the first week of the month and what we did in the fourth, there was a gain of two million tons. Doubled!

And what is our total gain now (from April 1st to date) over the corresponding period of last year? It is some 35,000,000 tons. In spite of price-and-profit-restriction!

"Socialistic" coal is very active. The paralyzing hand of The State has not paralyzed it. And why? Well, everybody has his views. I venture mine.

I look at the official called the District Representative. There are some thirty of him, covering the country. He is one of the most important of Dr. Garfield's subordinates. He operates the levers of the whole machinery which delivers coal from the coal industry to the representatives of the consumers. But what does he represent? Not The State.

The District Representative represents the local coal industry. He is nominated by the local coal industry, and he is supported by it. He is supported by it at considerable expense. For District Representatives, for other similar officials, for their salaries, for their staffs, the coal industry of America will this year spend, out of its own pocket, for its own collective efficiency in the forwarding of the war, the sum of at least $1,500,000.

This is something more than bureaucracy. It is something other than bureaucracy. It brings to mind those joint-committees of employers and of employees installed at each mine by Dr. Garfield for stimulating production, and for improving the technique of production, by joint-criticism and joint-suggestion. It illustrates the same principle. And that principle manifestly is that the coal industry, as an industry, shall undertake a certain collective responsibility and shall then, with its own force and its own initiative, discharge that responsibility.

But how does that responsibility get fixed? I look at the relations between the District Representatives and the State Fuel Administrators.

If you want coal for your factory, and cannot get it, you appeal to your State Fuel Administrator. He represents the consumer. He is nominated and appointed directly by the government at Washington, by The State. The State is the one existing effective organization of consumers as consumers. The State Fuel Administrator need not be a coal man. In fact, in principle, he ought not to be a coal man. His client is not the producer of coal. His client is the user. And therefore it is quite correct that the State Fuel Administrator should be simply a man of good general experience in affairs.

You appeal to him, and he looks you up in his records, and he may say:

"My dear sir, I notice that you are a maker of pianos. Doubtless you could burn more coal; but the War Industries Board, after considering the needs of consumers of coal in America for this war, has ranked you rather low among the enemies of the Kaiser. You are curtailed, as you know, to one-third of your former output; and, as I know, from your weekly reports of coal received and consumed and remaining, you have plenty of coal remaining for a one-third output."

Which would settle it. It would not be a matter for the District Representative. It would be a matter simply for settlement between consumers.

But you might be able to show, with pride, that you are making poison-gas. You might be able to show that your need of coal is in harmony with our national need. At once then your State Fuel Administrator may wire your case to the local District Representative.

It is for the District Representative then to act. The consumers, between them, have decided what they want. It is for him to deliver. He is the emergency distribution-agent, with great emergency powers, for all the mines in his territory. He studies his records of the day. He sees, perhaps, that five cars of coal are on their way to that non-preference factory in Ohio. He may grab those cars by telegraph and divert them to you. And he may notice that a certain coal-operator is sending a great deal of coal daily to "less essential" firms. He may therefore put you in touch with that coal-operator, and he may tell that coal-operator to see to it that you get an adequate supply.

In other words, the District Representative, representing the new unit of producers, delivers coal to the consumers in accordance with a responsibility fixed and re-fixed by the consumers' unit. The two units stand face to face throughout the country with a full knowledge of needs on one side and with a full knowledge of supplies on the other.

This is called Socialism. It is called Socialism

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by the people who can define Socialism without ever bothering to get the advice and consent of the Socialists. Clearly it bears only the faintest resemblance to Socialism. If one must give it a name, one may say perhaps that it is a sort of approach, within capitalism, to an idea which certain English theorists have lately popularized—the idea of Guilds. The coal industry moves toward becoming a self-conscious unit, a capitalistic Guild, discharging its responsibility to other industries through its representatives who meet The State and who cooperate with The State.

They meet it numerously throughout the country and they meet it numerously in the central offices of the Fuel Administration at Washington where they now hold virtually all the important positions having to do with production and with distribution. Dr. Garfield has not imposed a bureaucracy on the coal industry. As I look at it, he has raised the coal industry to a new dignity by imposing certain definite collective duties on it, in the name of the consumers, and by then summoning it to devise and to operate the methods by which those duties shall be done. He has developed the unit of the producers equally with the unit of the consumers. And to this policy, in my guess, he owes his steadily increasing success in the production of coal and in the quick and sensible distribution of it.

We still have a certain "deficit" in coal, yes. We are still some 13,000,000 tons behind our colossal paper "budget" for the year. But we now have a system of distribution which is capable of simply saving that whole 13,000,000 tons by not letting it go to factories which do not need it for the war. It is a system which with its zoning orders and its storage orders is putting great reserves of coal by the rightest routes into the rightest bins. It is a system which is distributing next winter's possible pinch now. It is a system which is distributing next winter's possible surplus now.

The summer of 1917 saw great piles of undistributed anthracite coal. The summer of 1918 saw no such piles. The new system can say with the utmost certainty that it has brought an enormous quickening to production and to distribution both. Its results are a triumph over last year's results. And it is a triumph of organized units over unorganized individualism.

Shall these units be utterly smashed back into chaos when peace comes? Why?

WILLIAM HARD.

Freedom of Speech

The Constitution of the United States:

"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press."

The Espionage Act, as amended May 16th, 1918: . . . "Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall wilfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, . . . or any language intended to bring the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States . . . into contempt, scorn, contumely, or disrepute, . . . and whoever shall by word or act support or favor the cause of any country with which the United States is at war or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both."

ON June 15th, 1917, Congress passed the original Espionage Act. Title I, Section 3, established three new offences: (1) false statements or reports interfering with military or naval operations or promoting the success of our enemies; (2) causing or attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military and naval forces; (3) obstruction of enlistment and recruiting. On June 16th, 1918, Congress amended this section adding the offences set forth at the head of this article among others. Already over seventy prosecutions under the act for mere speaking, writing, or printing have come to trial or been otherwise heard in court. Convictions have followed in at least fourteen cases, some involving many defendants. These proceedings are reported by the Department of Justice in its Bulletins on the Interpretation of War Statutes, and by the National Civil Liberties Bureau, New York, in a pamphlet, Espionage Act Cases, containing a thorough analysis. This widespread governmental action against the discussion of public questions deserves careful examination, for whether justified or not it is an important aspect of the war and our permanent national policy.

The First Amendment to the Federal Constitution guarantees "freedom of speech and of the press," but some judges have limited this to freedom from interference *before* publication, and would therefore hold the Espionage Act constitutional because it only imposes punishment *after* publication. By this view the government is prohibited

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from heading off objectionable discussion through a censorship or the use of injunctions, but is in no way restricted from prosecuting and punishing severely any utterance it chooses to consider criminal, however harmless in itself, when once it is spoken or written. This definition of liberty of the press originated with Blackstone, and ought to be knocked on the head once for all. In some respects it goes altogether too far. It would not allow the government to suspend a newspaper which habitually furnishes military information to the enemy, or censor indecent moving pictures before exhibition. Such film censorship has been held by the United States Supreme Court (1915) not to infringe freedom of speech—a clear repudiation of Blackstone's definition. And under the Espionage Act itself, a Federal judge enjoined production of The Spirit of '76, a film depicting the Wyoming Massacre and Paul Revere's Ride, because it tended "to make us a little bit slack in our loyalty to Great Britain in this great emergency."

On the other hand, the government which holds twenty years in prison before a speaker and calls him free to talk resembles the Bolshevik peasant described by Galsworthy, who would not let a street meeting silence an unpopular orator. "Brothers, you know that our country is now a country of free speech. We must listen to this man, we must let him say anything he will. But, brothers, when he's finished, we'll bash his head in!" Severe punishment for sedition will check political discussion as effectively as a censorship. The men who drafted the First Amendment knew this well. The censorship had been abolished in England a century before, but they had seen seventy English prosecutions for libel since 1760 with fifty convictions under rules of law which made conviction easy. Those rules had been detested in this country ever since they were repudiated by jury and populace in the famous trial of Peter Zenger, the New York printer, the account of which went through fourteen editions before 1791. Since Blackstone's definition was really just a statement of the objectionable English law of seditious publications, it throws no light on the meaning of the free speech clauses in our Federal and State Constitutions. Those clauses were written by men to whom Wilkes and Junius were household words, who intended to make prosecutions for seditious utterances impossible in this country. This is shown plainly by events soon after the First Amendment. When Congress enacted the Sedition Law of 1798, punishing "writings against the government of the United States and the President," Jefferson treated it as unconstitutional, while Hamilton a few years later defended a Federalist editor from prosecution in the name of the liberty of the press. Thus we have testimony from the leaders of both parties. The argument in Cooley's Constitutional Limitations is unanswerable, that the evils to be prevented by the free speech clauses are not merely the censorship, but any governmental action which may prevent such free and general discussion of public matters as seems essential to prepare the public for an intelligent exercise of their rights as citizens and to subject those in power to just scrutiny and condemnation.

Therefore, the First Amendment fixes limits upon the power of Congress to make speech criminal and punishable, and if the Espionage Act exceeds those limits it is unconstitutional. Still, judicial decisions and common sense put some utterances outside the protection of free speech clauses, and it may be that the offences specified in the Act can be punished as much as rank indecency, contempt of court, or incitement to assassination. Where shall we draw the line? It is useless to make a distinction between liberty and license, since "license" is too often liberty to the speaker and what happens to be anathema to the judge. Nor can we brush aside free speech by saying it is war-time and the Constitution gives Congress express power to raise armies. The First Amendment was drafted by men who had just been through a war. If it is to mean anything, it must restrict powers which are expressly granted to Congress, since Congress has no other powers, and it must apply to those activities of government which are most apt to interfere with free discussion, namely, the postal service and the conduct of war.

The true meaning of freedom of speech seems to be this. One of the most important purposes of society and government is the discovery and spread of truth on subjects of general concern. This is possible only through absolutely unlimited discussion, for, as Bagehot points out, once force is thrown into the argument, it becomes a matter of chance whether it is thrown on the false side or the true, and truth loses all its natural advantage in the contest. Nevertheless, there are other purposes of government, such as order, the training of the young, protection against external aggression. Unlimited discussion sometimes interferes with these purposes, which must then be balanced against freedom of speech, but freedom of speech ought to weigh very heavily in the scale. The First Amendment gives binding force to this principle of political wisdom.

In war-time, therefore, speech should be free, unless it is clearly liable to cause direct and dangerous interference with the conduct of the

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war. The original Espionage Act, under which most of the prosecutions have taken place, satisfies this test, for the three offences specified relate closely to military operations. Many Federal judges, for example, Judge Augustus Hand in the first Eastman trial, have construed it not to prohibit the expression of opposition to the war and the Conscription Act, even though this may indirectly discourage recruiting. Judge Learned Hand in the Masses suit states the proper attitude toward free speech in war.

"Political agitation, by the passions it arouses, may in fact stimulate men to the violation of law. . . . Yet to assimilate agitation, legitimate as such, with direct incitement to violent resistance, is to disregard the tolerance of all methods of political agitation, which in normal times is a safeguard of free government. The distinction is not a scholastic subterfuge, but a hard-bought acquisition in the fight for freedom."

Other judges, however, have interpreted the 1917 Act so broadly as to make practically all opposition to the war criminal, since it may conceivably come to the ears of soldiers and recruits. Still more extreme is the charge of Judge Van Valkenburgh in the trial of Rose Pastor Stokes. He told the jury that her letter to the Kansas City Star, "I am for the people, while the government is for the profiteers," might interfere with the operation of the military forces, because it might dampen the spirits of the Star subscribers, which included the wives, sisters, and sweethearts of soldiers, and "our armies in the field can succeed only so far as they are supported by the folks at home." On the accusation of causing disloyalty in the military and naval forces, he included in the forces "all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 years." The right of criticism means "criticism friendly to the war." Mrs. Stokes was sentenced to prison for ten years. Such law suppresses free speech for all opponents of a war, but allows militant newspapers and politicians to block by unbounded abuse the efforts of the President to end a war by a just settlement.

Congress reached the same result by the 1918 Amendment to the Act, making it criminal to "oppose the cause of the United States" in any war.

The Espionage Act is not limited to this war. The pacifists and Socialists are wrong now, but they may be right next time. Balance military necessity in such a case against the harm of suppressing truth by a ten-year term. The government can argue better than Mrs. Stokes, and at its back are public opinion, press, police, the army, to prevent her words from causing unlawful acts. On the other hand, while national welfare doubtless demands that this just war be pushed to victory, it also demands that an unjust war be stopped. The only way to find out whether a war is unjust is to let people say so.

The 1918 clauses punishing attacks on the Constitution and our form of government raise still stronger objections. They have nothing to do with war. They may be used during some petty foreign squabble to arrest and imprison, here in this country, an excitable advocate of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment or the substitution of Soviets for Congress. If there was one thing which the First Amendment was meant by our ancestors to protect, it was criticism of the existing form of government, the kind of criticism which George III's judges punished. Even if the Act permits temperate discussion, which is doubtful, it still abridges free speech, for the greater the need of change, the greater the likelihood that agitators will lose their temper over the present situation.

Consequently, the whole extract from the Espionage Act preceding this article and charges like that in the Stokes case probably violate the First Amendment.

Whatever be decided as to constitutionality, the Espionage Act prosecutions break with a great tradition in English and American law. Only once before has the United States tried to punish political crimes, and the Sedition Act of 1798 with its maximum of two years' imprisonment wrecked the Federalist party. The Mexican War produced the Biglow Papers. We fought the Civil War with the enemy at our gates and powerful secret societies in our midst without an Espionage Act. When Burnside and his subordinates began to curb the disloyal press, Lincoln revoked their orders. In the South the newspapers were probably under closer control, but there were no prosecutions. Bright in the Crimean War, Morley in the Boer War, were unmolested in England. The only proceedings in our law comparable to the Espionage Act trials are the sedition prosecutions under George III, which have been a byword ever since.

The parallelism is often curiously close. Just as Lord Ellenborough could see no motive for Leigh Hunt's attack on flogging in the army except the desire to cause a mutiny, so our judges are sometimes overready to infer a similar criminal intent from talk of profiteering or Wall Street. Just as Lord Kenyon, while trying a man who happened to sympathize with the French Revolution went out of his way to emphasize its massacres, so the judge in the Stokes trial called the Russian Revolution "the greatest betrayal of the cause of democracy the world has ever seen." Fox's words are not out of place now, that revolutions elsewhere were not owing to the freedom of popular

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opinions, but to the reverse. In one respect the parallelism does not hold. The maximum sentence imposed in the English trials was four years. We have sent four men to prison for twenty years.

A friend of Lovejoy, the Abolitionist printer killed in the Alton Riots, said at the time that we are more especially called upon to maintain the principles of free discussion in case of unpopular sentiments or persons, as in no other case will any effort to maintain them be needed. We have made a mistake under the pressure of a great crisis. We should admit it frankly before intolerance becomes a habit in our law, repeal this entire section of the Espionage Act, and leave our political prisoners as well situated as Liebknecht.

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

A League of Nations Catechism

IN many American and some European newspapers, there is reluctance to discuss President Wilson's proposal for a League of Nations. Apparently editors, while not opposing the idea, still have certain misgivings. I have therefore written out a number of questions to which answers are suggested. It may be that this slight catechism may help to clear the air.

Would not the mere mention of such a League have diverted the popular mind from the sole task of winning the war?

This has not been our experience in Britain where the idea of a League has been talked about for years. With such discussions proceeding, the manpower and output of munitions are today at the maximum. And it is among the workers that the League is most popular. No other American President in his term of office has enjoyed Mr. Wilson's influence in England.

Is not a League of Nations really a pacifist subterfuge for compromise with Germany?

It is in fact the reverse. Only a Germany purged of autocracy can be admitted to the League. It is the pan-Germans therefore who among the enemy are most bitterly opposed to joining. The League therefore must be based on victory. Compromise would leave Germany still in military despotism, able once more to set up a balance of power against free peoples, which was the situation that collapsed in 1914. With Asia and America involved, such a balance of power would be on broader lines, and if it collapsed in the same way the disaster would be so much the greater.

Will not the constitution of the League be a mere scrap of paper, designed to lull democracies into a false and easy sense of security?

It will be the opposite of this. Every peace means a treaty. Every treaty is paper. With a League, the paper is guaranteed by force. Without the League, there is no guaranty for the weak nations against the strong nations. It is untrue that the Belgian treaty was a mere scrap of paper. That was only Germany's conception of it and she now knows better. The League proposes a more conclusive guaranty, by the new world as well as the old, endorsed by democracies as well as diplomatists, the most powerful instrument in history. Every nation would know that the guaranty could only be challenged at extreme peril. Every nation, thus vitally concerned, would watch vigilantly against the danger of such challenge. What this war has shown is that on the whole good faith is stronger than bad faith. Under the League good faith would be organized.

Does not the President state that the League must only be started at the Peace Table, and is it not therefore premature for the rest of us to talk about it at this stage?

The President appealed to the Prime Ministers of the Allies to lead discussion. His view is that peoples as well as statesmen are concerned. He refuses private conference with the enemy behind closed doors. If liberty and law are to be respected, liberty and law must be defined and understood as in the American Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Does not a League of Nations destroy the boycott of Germany after the war?

Without a League no boycott is possible because a boycott must include neutral nations. The President reserves to the League a right of boycott and is helping to organize a control of raw materials, food stuffs, mercantile marine and cables. With our victory over Germany complete and German autocracy destroyed, there will be the less need to employ economic weapons after the war. On the other hand, if autocracy should be restored to power, and if Germany is bent on further trouble the League will deprive her of the means to foment it. All that President Wilson has said is in effect that the boycott as a judicial operation must not be used for national or personal profit. The League must adopt the standards of an international court of law, served by international force to punish and to prevent international crime.

Does not the League mean universal free trade?

The answer is, no. Many people think that tariffs produce ill feeling, but at this moment Australia is raising her customs against Great Britain while remaining within the British Empire and fighting in defense of it. In this matter the League does not infringe national sovereignty. At the same time the influence of the League would be valuable in mitigating extreme fiscal rivalries and in preventing fiscal oppression like that of Austria-Hungary of Serbia. It would be for the United States herself to consider the moral and material advantage of raising or lowering her tariffs at a time when wages and profits are inflated. It would be open to the League to devise safeguards of international application against competition by ill-paid labor, whether Asiatic or otherwise. I must here make my own position clear by adding that our experience in England is that low wages are always expensive. On the whole the best paid labor leads to the cheapest production. The Lancashire cotton trade is an illustration.

Will not the League dispose of the fine discipline of universal military service?

Americans, unexhausted by war, may not quite appreciate the European attitude towards conscription. We are fighting to get rid of it. Burdened by debt, no nation can afford it. It means bankruptcy after the war and revolution. Our fear is that if all our citizens are soldiers, so also will be every Chinaman, every Indian, every African and every German. This war has taught us that of

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armaments you cannot say "Thus far shalt thou go and no further." Armaments must be brought under control or nations must exist for nothing else. The League would limit armaments to use by itself against any recalcitrant member. The aim would be to reduce crime so as to relieve society from superfluous police. There are other and severer calls for sacrifice and discipline, even than military service after the war. The world will need an immense army of doctors, nurses, teachers, missionaries, civil servants, scientists, explorers, who will combat pain, ignorance, disease, prejudice and ancient cruelties. In vocational schools we shall find the nursery of a fine citizenship and personal courage. It was the surplus energy of Germany that went wrong. The League of Nations will be a League of Service in which such surplus energy will be devoted to uplifting and perpetuating human life.

Is it proposed to sacrifice British command of the sea and strategic positions like Suez, Gibraltar and Panama? Would this be safe?

Britain dislikes the phrase, "Freedom of the Seas," because it suggests that before the war she used her naval predominance in order to obtain maritime advantages for herself. This she denies. Her claim is that she held the seas, in so far as she did hold them, for the benefit of all mankind. The case should therefore be put in terms which do not needlessly challenge traditional pride. But the British navy is already merged in an international force to which it may well be that the United States will in future years make the largest contribution. Such cooperation, so far from being unwelcome to Britain, relieves her of what used to be her sole responsibility for maintaining the security of trade routes. Moreover, it would convince any aggressive naval power that the game of competition in dreadnaughts, etc., is played out. There appears to be little popular demand for the surrender of the above-mentioned strategic positions to international control. But a League of Nations would be a safeguard against the abuse of such control, if any such tendency were to be disclosed. The case of Constantinople is obviously different. It has never been free for commerce in the sense that Gibraltar and Suez were free. As for the right of blockade in time of war, this would be under a League of Nations precisely that weapon of boycott which has been already discussed.

How is it possible for any of us to have any dealings with Germany after the war?

In many ways, it would be convenient if Germany were to be removed to another planet, but this is not a practicable proposal. As individuals we may decline to associate with Germans or to deal in German goods, but European countries are not situated like America at a distance of three thousand miles from the Fatherland. The position of Europe will always be that in her midst is this population of a hundred million German-speaking people. We cannot help ourselves. The problem for statesmen to consider is how to relieve countries like France, Italy and Switzerland and Belgium from the terrible menace which has overshadowed them for so many years. Without desiring in any way to mitigate those inevitable punishments which destiny will impose on Germany as a retribution for her misdeeds, statesmen must also consider the happiness of the innocent, nor must the innocent be sacrificed to our just indignation against those who have wronged them. Evil is not mere guilt, it is disease, and what would bring the greatest measure of permanent satisfaction to a tortured Europe would be a mitigation of Germany's deep-seated maladies. It may be that such remedies will be found to lie beyond the realm of statesmanship. Possibly we are trenching upon the frontiers of religion. The injunction on highest authority that we should pray for our enemies does not mean that we should condone their ill deeds. Still less does it mean that we should be disloyal to our friends. With Germany of yesterday there were and there could be no dealing whatever. But if the changes now taking place in the Central Powers are as permanent and as deep as they promise to be there will be no reason for excluding the Germany of tomorrow from the League of Nations.

I may be mistaken but I do none the less submit that the explanation of points like these in newspapers of undoubted loyalty and high principle would deepen and broaden the fine purposes of Americans, who are determined at whatever cost to win this war.

P. W. Wilson.

A Programme of Reconstruction

FACING the opportunities of reconstruction, the United States begins with politics. First, a fight is foreshadowed over the Weeks bill and the Overman bill, mostly on party lines, and from now until November, 1920, an issue will be how one set of little mortals can interfere, during the world's agony, with the credit of another set of little mortals. Meantime, the people of the country—the most conservative of modern peoples—are in a mental condition so fluid that they would accept a radical programme of improvement if their leaders were reasonably united. After a little they are likely to settle back into the mood that makes it a desperate struggle to get the simplest pieces of democratic progress through the legislatures, thence to run the gauntlet of our singular courts.

In the next few years the world will take some steps toward economic democracy. It will take them with knowledge, after the manner of the British Labor party, or with doctrinaire and destructive violence, after the manner of Lenin. I am not a Democrat, or any other kind of a party man, but I look upon it as wicked to endeavor to block the administration from doing its part to execute changes that will commit us to those steps ahead about which no reasonable doubt exists. Nothing is so educative as an act. Investigations are necessary, but they do not take the place of deeds. Personally I wish that Congress would authorize the President to appoint a Director General of Reconstruction, and that he would appoint the man almost unanimously declared by experts the one person ideally fitted for the task; but as neither half of this desire is likely to be realized, the administration through the various parts of its existing machinery should go ahead fast to form the bridge that leads from the open mind of war (open on economic measures) to continuing social improvements.

The programme, in the outlines of its philosophy, need not be complex. We can leave our descendants to decide how far they will go. The one weak point of the powerful British Labor party platform is that it needlessly combines a fertile programme for the present with some absolutism put in to satisfy orthodox Socialists. Orthodox Socialists in America are so few and ineffective that we need not worry about them. We may plan those steps toward industrial freedom and security that radicals and clear-eyed conserva-

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tives deem indisputable and leave the future structure of society to the future. The programme suggested in this article is recommended to conservatives in order to avert disastrous convulsions. It is recommended to liberals in order to make their religion more specific. There is no invitation to guesswork, to fads. No changes need be made except those tested in the fierce effort of war. If in peace we preserve the lessons of war the nation's power and happiness will be increased as fast as it lies in institutions to increase power and happiness. The simplest thesis is that the proletariat—the mass of restless, irregular labor—is a menace and a drag, and that the proletariat can be abolished by steps which the war has shown to be sound.

What aspect would the world wear if there were none of the poverty that means discontent with society; that means inefficiency; that means proneness to crime? We need not look at the question negatively, as merely the cutting out of waste, distress and crime. We can think rather of the forces set free; the larger production of things that all men want; the wider diffusion of thought and hope; the freeing of the spirit for higher flights, a freedom brought not only to the many, now harassed by need and darkness, but to the favored, blinded by too many possessions and too little nearness to the springs of life. After the huge shaking of the war, we are invited to changes that shall mean a betterment for the struggler but not less for him who has never known the satisfaction of simple and ideal effort, or perhaps never known it until in 1914 or 1917 he undertook his part in the world's most extensive contest.

Those elements of labor which threaten violence to our carefully built up civilization are the elements that lead a precarious as well as an empty existence. Nobody who has a secure feeling about himself and his family, and a sense of the value of life, is likely to become a reckless agitator. Once we were content to treat yellow fever as a natural scourge of God, but after a while we got after the mosquito. So with typhoid, Black Death, infant mortality and famine. For men to average more than one third of their days in involuntary idleness, as they do in some trades, is one of the scourges. In our *best* periods we have about one and one-half million unemployed, due entirely to our evil system of distribution. The result of so scandalous a condition is to demoralize the community both in morale and efficiency. The man of uncertain life deteriorates. He becomes hostile and dangerous. Moreover, if democracy is to succeed, production must increase. We can level up only through increased production. We are not producing intelligently when men are idle over one hundred days in a year.

If we can spend twenty-four billion on current expenses in one year of war, we can spend say six billion as a capital investment to get started after the war. Some such capital investment is necessary if we are not to run the risk of disorganization in passing too suddenly from a war basis, with the government as principal employer, to a peace basis, with private capital unprepared to take up the soldiers and more quickly the workers in industries that end or diminish with the war. Of course this undertaking by the government should be unmistakably capital investment, not current expenses; which is one reason for having a big man, perhaps with an advisory committee supporting him, in charge of the enterprise. He is needed as much as Mr. Hoover was needed in foods or Mr. McAdoo in railroads.

The points at which such a capital investment could be made are not hidden. There are plenty of waterways to be enlarged, requiring both skilled and unskilled labor. Our shipyards will need to be run at the full until destruction by the submarines is made up. The railroad situation invites far-reaching changes that would mean direct employment to labor of many grades and indirect employment through demand for materials. It is difficult to know when the roads will pass out of government control. There are sweeping changes for the government to make in them. They should mostly be electrified, thus reducing the need of coal and the need of transporting coal. Electrification means a vast demand for copper. Less than car-load lots should be drawn in automobile trucks. That step means changed wheels, new trucks, and new roadbeds, the results of which in the demand for labor and material are obvious.

The land with its opportunities has been more discussed than other and even larger possibilities. It offers immense possibilities for absorption of all sorts of labor and materials. There is some controversy at present among the well informed about the best method of attacking this problem. If we proceed not so much in remoter regions as in old and semi-old communities, creating modern suburbs, with their needs in pipes, sewers and gardens, we shall be in the modern spirit. The cut-over lands and the swamp lands offer some of the best opportunities for intelligent development. Here we must be careful to see beyond one generation, or we may give away material assets in as short-sighted a way as we did when we were hurrying the upbuilding of the West. With our politically-minded Congress, the danger is all toward sentimental generosity to the present, leaving our descendants to find their way over the obstacles we bequeath to them. It will be better to do nothing whatever in regard to land than to handle it so as to create a new roll of owners of unearned increment and new real estate speculations. For our treatment of the pioneer we had at least the excuse that he faced hardships, delays and uncertainties; but no such conditions will face those whom we now invite to settle with governmental assistance on the land. Hereditary leases will be fairer to posterity than fee simple.

A direction in which much activity can be absorbed at once is education. Since we entered the war the army itself has done a tremendous amount of educating. A new realization of the value of vocational training has come over us, and it is one of the lessons that should not be forgotten. Sovereigns need to be carefully trained. If the people are to be sovereign they must be educated. The education of life continues through life. The whole of life should be laid out on a theory approaching that of a part-time school. If reduction in the hours of labor is part of reconstruction, so equally part of it are the steps enabling us, in the shorter hours, to produce a larger volume of desirable things. For an adequate system of education a large number of new teachers would be required. In hygiene, in new housing plans, in improved factory conditions, there are opportunities for inspired direction, for teaching, learning and executing; but the only way in which that group of problems can be worked out is to have a community awake to them, eager and informed. The almost hopeless amount of rudimentary political training required in America needs no more vivid illustration than the overwhelming defeat of John Purroy Mitchel by the present mayor of New York City. Such a possibility leaves one aghast. Public education, in one form or another, must interpenetrate all the specific accomplishments of reconstruction. It must spring from many centres, but a rightly selected Director General of Reconstruction could plant the seed broadcast.

Any expense that is required for a reconstruction programme, based ultimately on the all-around building up of the individual, could well be afforded, provided, on the one

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hand, that we are efficient and on the other hand that we as a public realize the ultimate good for which time and money are expended. Beyond our specific steps we need as motive power the picture of the world we desire to bring into being. Otherwise the doubting and the selfish will block high enterprise. We must realize vividly why more leisure is needed for the laborer, what he is to do with it, what is the true business of life. We must realize that many of our economic demands have been tawdry — for social competition, show, empty diversion—demands fit only to be scrapped, making way for the demands of individual development and continuous education. A "must," an imperative, is that we are to take advantage of modern mechanics and science, in order to put an end to the crabbed lives of the majority.

So inspired, we refuse to accept the old economic obstacles to smooth and rapid progress. Let us take a fundamental example. The world has been accustomed to a sequence which threatens to come again soon, unless we have a programme to avoid it: a lessening demand for steel, a lessening demand for ore, for pig iron, a shutting down of factories and mines. One of our postulates is that such a sequence shall not be allowed. The production of steel to be required in the future is not less than in the past. We are to build our plans on averages, not on caprice and chance.

What in the world is more stable than pig-iron? That we are to need it is absolutely certain. The only substance comparing with it in stability is gold, and we may question whether in the immediate future its value will not be more stable than that of gold. Nothing is so easily stored. It is in all ways an ideal article on which to stabilize production. The only need is money to pay for the labor of producing it; and the government, or anybody else, would be entirely safe in lending money, even up to billions, on the security of the pig-iron itself.

It would not, moreover, be necessary to store all the pig-iron beyond immediate requirements, because a large part of the articles into which pig-iron goes are entirely independent of style and occasion. They could be stored almost as well as the iron itself. We have a railroad system of 250,000 miles. For at least a generation we shall have use for all the steel rails that we can reasonably make, and these rails are not only indestructible but of secure value. There has, moreover, been no appreciable change in the form of a freight-car wheel in a generation, so that any quantity of these could safely be made. Similar stability lies in certain kinds of cars. Similar tracing of the principle could easily be made from every basic metal, as copper, zinc, lead, aluminum. The present situation is that we have practically no reserves. It is a mere question of money to make the investment—of banking. The per piece cost is lowered, obviously, if you can give employees and plants occupation every working day in the year.

The panics of the last fifty years have all been inextricably connected with the production of pig-iron. The coal-mines follow, and the coke ovens; the railroads, not carrying ore, pig-iron and coke, lessen the demand for cars and engines. To stop this deadly sequence the only requirements are: (1) recognition that it *must* be stopped, (2) comprehensive thought, and (3) the ability to borrow a certain number of billions, partly as investment, partly as working capital. It is clear enough, I fancy, that the task is one requiring a Director General, a one-man top, with an advisory committee. No such plan will be marked out in detail and set going by Congressional committees or by separate departmental activities, but I am under no illusions about the chances and fully realize the probability of our drifting along with the committees and the departments. Certainly we shall do so unless a public demand makes itself felt, for the President likes to work through departments with which he is familiar, and the promise through Congress undertaking to administer the matter can be estimated by anybody.

The size of the job cannot be denied. Under the Director General there would have to be an immense number of departments. It is a vast effort in engineering. Many parts of the machinery, however, have been erected during the war. It is a question of transferring their use over into peace, or letting them be lost. For the first time in American history we have a general survey of what we need and what we possess. If these boards are used for definite tasks we can succeed; but the tasks have to be thought out definitely. The law of statistics is now going through what the law of accounting went through. Thirty years ago accounting was an archaeological inquiry. Now it is contemporary information and practically a forecast of tomorrow. The government must have the same spirit in statistics. For instance: How many plants in North Carolina will be idle? How much copper can be used? How much cement? Where? How many men? What kind of men? What teams? The nearest approach we have now to such a system is in the reports of coal production. There is work in plenty, detailed and patient work, after the war for the Bureau of Statistics, the War Trade Board, the War Labor Board, the War Industries Board, the Federal Trade Commission, the Geological Survey, the Road-making Bureau, and many other existing bodies, all capable of feeding the centralized reconstruction plans. There will be conflicting interests and demands. They should all be heard. One man should decide, inspire and drive.

Certain elements of stability and welfare, introduced by the war, are running so smoothly that they ought to present no problems. I will give merely the one illustration of insurance. Nothing tends more strongly toward a proper conservatism than insurance in a family, and the government under stress of war has shown how that business should be conducted. In 1916 the total written by all the companies—old line or legal reserve, fraternal, industrial, assessment—was less than $5,230,000,000. Fifteen per cent cost of doing business was looked upon as economical. The government has insured 4,084,054 Americans for $35,705,170,500, at a cost of less than two per cent. This gives us an idea of what insurance of all kinds might mean if it were offered by the government.

These among many illustrations will suffice to hint at the measureless extent of the opportunity before us, to take advantage of the country's fluid state and rush it ahead, taking the steps necessary to avert discontent and possible disaster, which are also the steps that lead to higher general life and to the justification of democracy. Some aspects of the inadequacy with which the future is faced are almost comic in their narrowness. An expert met a Senator on the streets of Washington.

"You fellows on the hill are not doing much real thinking about reconstruction, are you?"

"Oh, sure. There is a lot of talk about it."

"What direction, for example?"

"Well, how we can capture the South American trade, and how we can get the most advantage from our gold reserve."

In fairness to our public men, however, it ought to be said that some of the best of them have been so busy admin-

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istratively, reaching the peak of our effort, that they have only just turned their minds from the problem of mobilization to the problem of demobilization. It is possible, though hardly probable, that we shall make as good a record in orientation after the war as we have in bringing our resources to a focus during the war. Thus far such studies as the Whitley report in England and the plans of the reconstruction committees in Germany have no counterpart in this country. The best excuse is that we have been in the war a shorter time and the elements of our problem have just begun to emerge. It is up to a small thinking class to hurry realization of the need for acting with rapidity. If we do not strike before the public hardens into its customary inertia, no economic and social gains will be captured. The opportunity will pass.

NORMAN HAPGOOD.

CORRESPONDENCE

Pacify Russia

SIR: Now, with the war over, social revolution raging in Germany and the Soviet government denouncing the Brest-Litovsk treaty and the subsequent agreements entered into with Germany, the military intervention in Russia, a strange mixture of semi-war and semi-friendliness, is becoming a crying anomaly.

The chief purpose of the Allied intervention, the necessity of driving the Germans out of Russia, is achieved by the terms of the armistice imposed on Germany. To continue armed operations in Russia now would mean to renounce the principle of non-interference in Russia's internal affairs, the principle which was most solemnly proclaimed by the United States and the Allied governments when they decided to send troops to Russia. Under the present circumstances the Czecho-Slovak and Allied campaign in Russia is taking the character of intervention in Russia's internal affairs pure and simple.

I have no hesitation in stating that intervention under such circumstances and of such character will be disastrous both to Russia and to the Allied cause in Russia.. If ever intervention did appeal to a part of the Russian people, it was only because they believed that it was necessary for the national cause. But at present, with Russia liberated from the Germans, no honest Russian, no matter how hostile he may be towards the Bolsheviki, will support armed intervention, which spells only more ruin and more exhaustion to his worn-out and exhausted country. Undoubtedly a few of the less popular and much-repudiated Russian leaders did support the Allied intervention, because it was helping them to defeat their political opponents, but even they never dared openly to proclaim their true purpose. They always put forward the necessity of fighting Germany and reestablishing the eastern front as the reason for intervention. Indeed, it is impossible to invite and support foreign armies against one's own people. Only under the pretext of fighting the country's enemies were they able to camouflage their anti-national invitation to the Allies. Now, when this pretext is gone, they will have to come out into the open and frankly support foreign military force against their own countrymen. I doubt whether they will, but if they dare to the result will be disastrous to them. The people will consider such support as anti-national and will treat all those who invite or support foreign military force against their own people as traitors.

But that is not all. Not only will the intervention be left without support by the Russian people, but the danger is that the intervention may arouse a unanimous and spirited protest throughout Russia. There is no country which longs for peace more than Russia does; none has bled and suffered for peace more than this sorely tried country; and now, when peace is dawning, the Russian people will be deeply grieved to see that it is not bringing relief to them. On the other hand, the German revolution will stimulate a tremendous upheaval in Russia, and we may expect a great and genuine revival of the spirit of hope which prevailed in the early days of the Revolution. The most effective opposition to the Soviet government in Russia came from those who protested that it is a dangerous dream to establish a socialist state side by side with a powerful and rapacious imperialist Germany. Now, with Germany free and purified in the same furnace of suffering and humiliation, the young Russian democracy may breathe freely and look to the future with hope. The triumph of the German workers is bringing a great message to the Russian democracy, and I am confident that the new spirit of Russia will lead to a reconciliation among the socialist parties, which, in spite of all their differences in sentiment and opinion, are united in their love for Russia and socialism.

The Allied military intervention has lost, under the changed international conditions, its avowed purpose; it is out of sentiment with the overwhelming majority of the Russian people; it may arouse active and general opposition. A word of reconciliation from the Allied democracies will now achieve more than any intervention by force could ever achieve. Not only will the Allies find the situation in Russia greatly changed, but peace and the German revolution will similarly affect the sentiments and opinion of the Allied democracies. They too supported intervention because it was deemed necessary from a military point of view; because the Allied High Command considered intervention an important, almost decisive factor for winning the war. But at present, when Germany is evacuating Russia, the majority of the Allied democracies will certainly refuse to support a frank and open intervention in Russia's internal affairs. Now, with the Brest-Litovsk treaty three-fold repudiated: (1) by the Soviet government, (2) by the terms of armistice, and (3) by the fact of the German revolution, even the most rigid interventionists will lack a plausible excuse for the continuation of the armed intervention in Russia.

The situation in Russia is exceedingly serious, but it is a grave mistake to think it possible to ameliorate this situation by sheer force. It is a tremendous revolution which shook to the depths 200,000,000 people of a whole vast continent; it is the greatest social cataclysm which ever occurred on earth. And yet men talk of "straightening out" Russia, like Cuba and the Philippines! Only reason and statesmanship and, most of all, true spirit of reconciliation, will be able to pacify Russia and utilize to the advantage of mankind the tremendous spiritual forces which have been awakened in the Russian people by the Revolution.

MICHAEL S. FARBMAN.
Staff Correspondent of the Novaia Zhizn (Maxim Gorky's newspaper).
New York City.

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Trade-Union Women

SIR: Because many persons have no way of knowing what statesmen among women the trade union movement has already developed, it seems desirable to supplement and in a sense to express disagreement with one statement which you made in a recent editorial on Woman in Industry in your issue of October 26th. You pointed out that "the way of the trade-union movement has been made so difficult by this half-hearted attitude of the men that the outstanding leaders of the woman's trade-union movement have come *not* from the ranks of organized labor" but from the ranks of outsiders.

This statement seems to ignore the remarkable contribution made by trade-union women in official positions in the federal government during the war. As public officials women from the ranks of organized labor—Melinda Scott as advisor in the United States Employment Service, Agnes Nestor as Chairman of the Department of Women in Industry of the Woman's Committee, and as the only woman member of the Advisory Council appointed by the Secretary of Labor to plan the organization of the War Labor Administration, Rose Yates as member of the staff of the Women's Section of the Railroad Administration, Elizabeth Christman as chief of a corps of examiners for the War Labor Board and several trade-union women serving with her—have proved their capacity to serve not only as leaders of the trade unions but as leaders of the public. Other trade-union women not holding official positions but continuing active work in the trade union movement—Fannia Cohn, Sara Conboy, Julia O'Connor, Margaret Daley, May Peake and several others—have assisted the government materially in dealing with problems in their trades.

Mary Anderson, after efficient service in the Women's Branch of the Ordnance Department, was made Assistant Director of the Woman in Industry Service, appointed to that position by the Secretary of Labor and recognized from the beginning not as an assistant but as actually co-director of the new division which trade-union women themselves had asked for in a resolution nine years ago. To her is due the inspiration for calling together the trade-union women who now form the Advisory Council of the Woman in Industry Service. Her wide experience in the trade-union movement and her statesmanlike attitude on public questions is an important asset of the Woman in Industry Service in the development of its policies at this critical time.

The need for the participation of working women in the economic problems of government is ably outlined in your editorial. It is equally important to point out the fact that their leadership has been an actuality demonstrated by those trade-union women who have served the government during the war. That in these federal positions trade unionists are co-workers with women who have not been in the ranks of organized labor is not an indication of parasitical reliance upon outsiders or a failure of the trade-union movement to develop leaders among women. To those of us who have worked together during the war in Washington, this partnership has been a much prized practical recognition of the essential unity of interest of all women in the establishment of their economic position upon a new basis. This experience of working together will yield the largest returns in the task of reconstruction ahead, and it is surely expected that the men in the trade-union movement will recognize the ability of women in its own membership by a new policy of electing them to important positions, as the federal government has already recognized them during the war.

MARY VAN KLEECK,
Director, Woman in Industry Service.

Washington, D. C.

Relief for Italy

SIR: There exists a condition in Italy which constitutes a unique challenge to America. No instance is recorded in history where an ancient race, proud, cultured and confident of its future, has so completely opened its heart to the citizens of a young nation as have the Italians to Americans. Our flag is scarcely distinguished from the banner of the *patria*. The children shout at us in the streets with affectionate enthusiasm: "Americano!" Soldiers gather for news about the headquarters of the "Y"—Opera di Fratellanza Universale—struggle with each other for tiny buttonhole copies of the Stars and Stripes. America is a hundred per cent above par in Italy.

Why? Well, for two reasons: first, President Wilson, and second, the record of the "Y." The finest things in the heart of Italy have responded to the idealism for which President Wilson stands at present as the supreme embodiment. Every American in Italy today receives in the friendship of the people an answer to this appeal of our national leader. In a lesser degree we in Italy owe our welcome to the record of the "Y" in France. Leaders here know what the organization has meant for morale in the armies of America and France. They have, therefore, opened wide the door of opportunity here.

We trust the consciousness of this obligation to the record of the "Y" and to the personality of the President will lift us who are in Italy to the level of the honor thereby done us. Will it lift America to the height of her unique opportunity? Will she see that there is no lack of funds for rendering to Italy the service possible at this time only through the "Y"? We on the field believe in you at home. We believe you will supply the funds to equip us. We believe you will send us reinforcements. We believe you will see that none come to Italy in this service who fail to measure up to the privilege of representing President Wilson and representing America.

OLIN D. WANNAMAKER.

Bologna, Italy.

The Original Red Triangle

SIR: Mr. Benjamin Franklin tells in his autobiography how he introduced modern methods into the French and Indian War.

"We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning and half in the evening, and I observed they were punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty: 'It is perhaps below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were only to distribute it out after prayers you would have them all about you.' He liked the thought, undertook the task, and with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended."

R. E. R.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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The Everlasting Return

It is dark . . . so dark,
I remember the sun on Chios . . .
It is still . . . so still,
I hear the beat of our paddles on the Aegean. . . .

Ten times we had watched the moon
Rise like a thin white virgin out of the waters
And round into a full maternity.
For thrice ten times we had touched no flesh
Save the man flesh on either hand
That was black and bitter and salt
And scaled by the sea.

The Athenian boy sat on my left.
His hair was yellow as corn steeped in wine.
On my right was Phildar, the Carthaginian,
Grinning Phildar
With his mouth pulled taut as by reins from his black gapped teeth.
Many a whip had coiled about him
And his shoulders were rutted deep as wet ground under chariot wheels
And his skin was red and tough as a bull's hide cured in the sun.

He did not sing like the other slaves,
But when a big wind came up he screamed with it.
And always he looked out to sea,
Save when he tore at his fish ends
Or spat across me at the Greek boy whose mouth was red and apart like an opened fruit.

We had rowed from dawn
And the green valley hard at our stern.
(She was green and squat and skulked close to the sea.)
All day the *tish* of their paddles had tickled our ears,
And when night came on
And little naked stars paddled in the water
And half the crouching moon
Slid over the silver belly of the sea, thick-scaled with light,
We heard them singing at their oars—
We who had no breath for song.

There was no sound in our boat
Save the clingle of wrist chains
And the sobbing of the young Greek.
I cursed him that his hair blew in my mouth, tasting salt of the sea. . . .
I cursed him that his oar kept ill time . . .
When he looked at me I cursed him again—
That his eyes were soft like a woman's.

How long
Since their last shell gouged our batteries?
How long
Since we rose at aim with a sleuth moon astern?
. . It was the damned green moon that nosed us out.
The moon flushed our periscope till it shone like a silver flame. . . .

They loosed each man's right hand
As the galley spent on our decks. . . .
Amazed and bloodied we reared half up
And fought askew with the left hand shackled.
But a zigzag fire leapt in our sockets
And knotted our thews like string. . . .
Our thews were stiff as a crooked spine that would not straighten. . . .

How long
Since our gages fell
And the sea shoved us under?
It is dark, so dark—
Darkness presses hairy-hot
Where three make crowded company—
And the rank steel smells.
It is still, so still. . . .
I seem to hear the wind
On the dimpled face of the water fathoms above. . . .

It was still, so still. . . .
We three that were left alive
Stared in each other's faces. . . .
(Three make bitter company at one man's bread. . . .)
And one grinned with his mouth awry from the long gapped teeth,
And one shivered and whined like a gull as the waves pawed him over. . . .
But one struck with his hate in his hand. . . .
His hate grown sharp and bright as the moon's edge in the water.

After that I remember
Only the dead men's oars that flapped in the sea. . . .
The dead men's oars that rattled and clicked like idiots' tongues. . . .

It is still, so still,
With the jargon of engine's quiet.
We three awaiting the crunch of the sea
Reach our hands in the dark
And touch each other's faces. . . .
We three, sheathing hate in our hearts. . . .
But when hate shall have made its circuit,
Our bones will be loving company
Here in the sea's den. . . .

One whimpers and cries on his God
And one sits sullenly,
But both draw away from me. . . .
I am the pyre their memories burn on. . . .
Like black flames leaping
Our fiery gestures light the walled-in darkness of the sea. . . .
The sea that kneels above us
And makes no sign. . . .

LOLA RIDGE.

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Lola Ridge's Poetry

The Ghetto, by Lola Ridge. New York: B. W. Huebsch. $1.25.

ONE of the hardest things in life, especially literary life, is to admit one's significant emotions. Appropriate emotions are quite a different story. Almost everyone, from President Wilson down to the cheapest writer of advertising copy, has had practice in meeting circumstance with just the right kind of propitiatory words. But outside this game of rhetoric, which is not always so easy, there is the infinitely harder and finer art of self-expression—the art of ascertaining as well as revealing self. To give voice to significant emotions—that is the essence of poetry which in turn is the essence of literature. What does one mean by "significant"? One means, I suppose, the emotions which determine personality and outlook and association and conduct. One means the emotions that are motive, that have life in them and legs under them, whether they crawl underneath the surface of things or come out above the surface and face a world. And the poet, for me, is the person who is so related to life by imagination and meditation that he can open out his emotions and find them truly significant —significant to himself and to the person who is still shut in. The child is often a poet, but an unconscious poet. He gives us his significant emotions, but they belong to evanescent nature, like apple-blossoms. The conscious poet is no less spontaneous; he is different only in being aware and alert, capturing in terms of literature the insurgence of his soul.

One who seeks significant emotions rather than appropriate emotions in Miss Lola Ridge is not likely to be unrequited. On the whole, it must be said, she does not seem perfectly at ease in her art, and her illuminations are most frequently the lightning-flash of analogy rather than the lyricism of full and steady possession. But the heart of the matter, the person of emotional significances, is there. Miss Lola Ridge is capable of that powerful exaltation on the wings of real feeling which brings a new world into vision. She is capable of massing jeweled impressions until they seem to have the unity of a single perception. More than once the wings of her feeling seem to fall limp. She fails to share the complete significance of which she herself is convinced. But when she does succeed, when the fullness of her realizations is controlled and embodied, she is entitled to all the glory that is shed by the name of poet.

In her longest poem, The Ghetto, Miss Ridge seems to me to hover somewhere between poetry and prose. A distinguished utterance The Ghetto certainly is. It is beyond doubt the most vivid and sensitive and lovely embodiment that exists in American literature of that many-sided transplantation of Jewish city-dwellers which vulgarity dismisses with a laugh or a jeer. The fact that Miss Ridge is not a Jewess, is herself alien and transplanted, does not disqualify her vision. On the contrary, she is disengaged so that she can move from reality to reality with a pure sense of the flood that immerses her. Could anyone less free see the "skinny hands that hover like two hawks," or "newsboys with battling eyes," or a small girl's "braided head, shiny as a black-bird's"? The outsider alone, perhaps, could observe the "raw young seed of Israel" and that insulted elder who, unperturbed, "keeps his bitter peace."

> What if a rigid arm and stuffed blue shape,
> Backed by a nickel star,
> Does prod him on,
> Taking his proud patience for humility. . . .
> All gutters are as one
> To that old race that has been thrust
> From off the curbstones of the world. . . .
> And he smiles with the pale irony
> Of one who holds
> The wisdom of the Talmud stored away
> In his mind's lavender.

How deep and sensitive the humanity of this passage, and yet The Ghetto as a whole does not seem to me to possess the significance of emotion which would make it a great poem, or even a poem. It ends with an apostrophe to Life itself, but that envoy is pretty nearly rhetoric. It is insignificant compared to the stanza that precedes it, beginning

> Out of the Battery
> A little wind
> Stirs idly—as an arm
> Trails over a boat's side in dalliance—
> Rippling the smooth dead surface of the heat.

Why has The Ghetto the genius of prose rather than poetry? Because, as I see it, it never achieves that synthesis to which rhyme is so often an aid, the synthesis of an intense emotion never relinquished. What is the intense emotion conveyed by The Ghetto? None. Its suggestions and evocations are beautiful, and it is fortunate that Miss Ridge gave form to them, but the significance they have for her does not seem final, and poetry is final.

But brief finalities are scattered all through The Ghetto. Seldom does Miss Ridge fail to keep imagination swung open by her use of analogy. Take these lines in Flotsam:

> Figures drift upon the benches
> With no more rustle than a dropped leaf settling—
> Slovenly figures like untied parcels,
> And papers wrapped about their knees. . . .

These are not wretched strivings after novelty. Miss Ridge naturally sees "a glance like a blow" or beholds a down-and-out woman on the benches, "diffused like a broken beetle," or "cafés glittering like jeweled teeth," or "beetle-backed limousines," or "the drawn knees of the mountain," or "the snow with its devilish and silken whisper." Each of these figures is just and illuminative, not mainly witty like the reference to a gaudy hat, "With its flower God never thought of." Miss Ridge is much more likely to be deep than witty, as when she envisages the poor smiling mother "with eyes like vacant lots."

The grip of Miss Ridge's poetry is most secure in those few poems of hers where her inspiration transcends her alert creativeness. "The Everlasting Return" is her best inspiration, it seems to me, among the long poems, and her poem of the Irish Rebellion of 1916 seems to me much the most perfect realization of what I pedantically call significant emotion. It is called the Tidings (Easter, 1916).

> Censored lies that mimic truth . . .
> Censored truth as pale as fear . . .
> My heart is like a rousing bell—
> And but the dead to hear . . .
>
> My heart is like a mother bird,
> Circling ever higher,
> And the nest-tree rimmed about
> By a forest fire . . .

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My heart is like a lover foiled
By a broken stair—
They are fighting tonight in Sackville street,
And I am not there.

Here there is something more than ardent observation, something more than a legend of the reign of labor. It is in lyrics like this, and the lyric of the East St. Louis burning of a Negro baby, that Miss Ridge really forgets her obligations to literature and fuses her emotion into her expression and becomes a full poet. She loses her art to save it. But of course in the other strivings of her art it is imperative to remember that Miss Ridge is an experimenter quite clearly centred in that world of class struggle where poetry itself is still an aberration. In declining to adopt old forms, in preferring to give even conventional sentiments about the north wind the liberation of free verse, Miss Ridge is manifestly striving to reach a position unencumbered by the methods appropriate to a different civilization. This striving is not always brought to a happy ending in The Ghetto poems. Miss Ridge is not full master of any method or medium. But her experiment is so obviously necessary to her, so obviously part of a genuine development, that it would be absurd to hold up her imperfections as something in the nature of things.

F. H.

Nationality and Government

Nationality and Government by A. E. Zimmern. New York: R. M. McBride. $3.

IT would be impossible for Mr. Zimmern to write a book which liberals could read without sympathy and respect. This present volume has not a few of the qualities which made his Greek Commonwealth one of the most significant political studies of recent years. It is a book replete at every point with careful and precise thinking. It drives the reader to renew his acquaintance with fundamental theorists like Mill and Acton. It treats opponents with the proper sense of respectful determination to show the defects of their outlook. Yet it somehow lacks the inwardness of profound perception we are entitled to expect from its author. Mr. Zimmern makes it possible, almost always, to accept his conclusions. When he is dealing with the problems of labor or education he has always something sane and wise and generous to offer. But, time and again, one cannot help being doubtful of the methods by which Mr. Zimmern has reached his conclusions. His book is based on certain underlying assumptions which, though never explicitly discussed, are tacitly present on every page. It is their validity, above all, that needs examination.

Mr. Zimmern comes to the analysis of the modern state with a mind full of Greek experience and Greek conceptions. As a consequence, he is eager to present the state as in a special sense the supreme representative of society and so entitled to a loyalty to which no other association can lay claim. He conceives of the state as a moral person whose sovereignty derives from the special purpose it endeavors to fulfil. Yet Mr. Zimmern himself would be the first to admit that the problems of the state must be examined in terms of the government by which it is represented in daily life. "A state," he says, "can be defined . . . as a territory or territories over which there is a government claiming unlimited authority," and he would doubtless justify that authority in terms of the consent which, tacitly or otherwise, is supposed to lie at the bottom of its exercise. But, surely, the problem of representation is far more complex than Mr. Zimmern's analysis would seem to make it. Mr. Zimmern, like every Platonist, is satisfied with the examination of the "pure" instance; the difficulty yet is that the variations with which practice must reckon make the "pure" instance at best of doubtful application. Ideally, it is doubtless true that government represents the people as a whole; in actual fact the main business of political analysis is the study of the particular class or interest which, at any given moment, possesses the real sources of power. Mr. Zimmern makes it the chief task of the political theorist to search for that ultimate unity of interest in the state that this attitude makes it necessary to postulate. It is at least permissable to doubt whether the unity so postulated is more, under present conditions, than a fantastic dream.

For it is unnecessary to regard history, with Gibbon, as the record of the crimes and follies of mankind to see that there has been, thus far, no state in which an actual identity of interest between rulers and subjects can be admitted. The fact surely is that those who possess the engines of power will, for the most part, tend to regard their private good as identical with the general welfare. That is, in fact, contrary to most of the evidence we possess. At the best, it equates the intention to do good with the achievement of good itself. It is yet not enough, as Plato himself again and again insisted, to will what is right; it is also necessary to know what it is right to will. Whatever theory may say, an analysis of the modern state reveals it as a complex of interests between which there is no

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necessary or even predominant harmony. The right of employers, for instance, to engage or discharge their workmen as they please is inconsistent with the latter's interest in security of tenure; and yet, in the immediate conditions of the modern industrial state, it is a right which law will protect. The definition of right and wrong by courts and legislatures, in brief, will inevitably reflect, though not in detail, the dominant ideas of the time; and it is not in the least clear that those dominant ideas will necessarily represent the equal happiness of the members of the state. The social interests which are translated into political rights are almost always the interests of a limited group of men.

Mr. Zimmern, indeed, avoids this conclusion, but his tactic, though skilful, seems to conceal a faulty analysis of the facts involved "to socialism," he says in a striking antithesis, "economics is the centre of life . . . to liberalism spiritual forces are the centre of life." It is a facile distinction; but there is no political game more easily played than the assumption that your own party has a monopoly of virtue. The truth is that the power of the socialistic appeal lies precisely in the neglect by liberalism of those economic forces upon which socialism lays emphasis. It is useless to search for moral improvement unless there is first achieved a solid basis of material comfort. Liberals like Bright and Cobden fully realized the eternal strength of a moral appeal; but it was upon the full stomachs of the middle-class that they relied for their success. Marx may have been, as Mr. Zimmern insists, a false prophet; but it was not until the working-class turned in the direction he desired that it began to obtain the control of its own destinies. The truth is that Mr. Zimmern too lightly neglects the degree to which spiritual power is dependent upon economic strength. No one will deny that St. Francis escapes the categories of the materialistic interpretation of history; but no one, either, can fail to perceive that the ideals of the Communist Manifesto are nearer to the truths of Christianity than the negative Benthamite liberalism against which it was in large part a protest.

Nor is it so certain that Mr. Zimmern's methods are more right than those he criticises so unsparingly. Broadly speaking, he is willing to recognize as his allies all who are instinct with the same goodwill as himself, without any meticulous attention to any basic identity of outlook. That is an attitude which has been the curse of every movement for reform since the beginning of the nineteenth century. There are few who will, like Milton's Satan, deliberately adopt evil as the equivalent of good, and in Mr. Zimmern's system everyone else secures recognition as instinct with liberal purposes. A duchess who devotes her mornings to slumming, Hannah More urging the poor to patience, Macaulay urging reform as the price of preservation from anarchy, all of them, in such an analysis, become liberals. Such an analysis is far too subjective to be of any real assistance. No goodwill is ever in itself sufficient. The whole point lies in its possession of the knowledge that makes it capable of a worthy realization. For nearly twenty years Mr. Balfour labored stoutly to improve the condition of Ireland; but he never got to the root of the Irish question. The truth is that an alliance of liberalism like that of Mr. Zimmern with a goodwill like that say of Mr. Balfour always absorbs the full fruition towards which the former moves; for the latter is making, at bottom, no more than the inevitable attempt of a decaying system to discover the terms upon which the status quo can be maintained. Where labor, for instance, is searching the principles of a new social order those whose friendship Mr. Zimmern welcomes are, in sober fact, merely making what they hope are sufficient concessions to secure the predominance of the old. A new political science is necessary to this new world; nor shall we obtain it from goodwill alone.

Mr. Zimmern's discussion of nationality is without question the most valuable part of his book; and his careful emphasis upon the dangers it involves deserves far weightier consideration than it is likely in this hectic age to receive. Nationality, indeed, is not quite the bugbear Lord Acton would seem to make it; Mr. Zimmern omits to state that the great scholar's incisive denunciation was written to assist the restoration of the temporal power of the Papacy. But, assuredly, nothing would be more disastrous than an acceptance of the formula that state and national boundaries ought to coincide. Few things are more simple politically than the creation of a new nationality, as America almost learned to her cost in 1861. Even today, the Poland that is approaching liberation has embarked upon a persecution of its Jewish citizens which shows the difficulty felt by exclusive nationalism in accepting the need of toleration. There is, in truth, not a little to be said for the view that toleration is more easily learned where there are numerous interests to conciliate than within a simple national state. That has been the lesson of the British empire, and, in somewhat different fashion it is the experience of the American commonwealth. Nothing is more necessary than to remember that a vivid national consciousness has always been the enemy of freedom; for it feeds upon exactly those instincts which have led the present generation to overwhelming disaster.

It is impossible to avoid a hope that Mr. Zimmern will be tempted into a more consecutive analysis of the modern state than a series of essays allows. It is obvious that the modern representative system, as classically conceived, has been strained to the breaking point; and nothing is today more necessary than discoveries in the mechanics of democracy. Mr. Zimmern has not yet shown that he possesses the clue to the central theme. He appreciates the fact that ours is an age of transition; but, so far, he has attempted little more than the adaptation of an outworn system to new needs. He knows, and no one has better analyzed, the defects of the German hypothesis. He sees with clearness the kind of background in which the new institutions must be set. But at present he is mainly occupied with the construction of a philosophy of compromise; and nothing is today more certain than that, even with the fabric of the liberal state, theories have come into conflict between which compromise is impossible. Mr. Zimmern is not yet free from the danger against which Tocqueville uttered his gravest warning—the confusion of institutions to which we have grown accustomed with the necessary institutions of society. It is to the analysis of that distinction that all political speculation must now lend its effort.

H. J. L.

War Poetry

A Treasury of War Poetry, edited by George Herbert Clarke. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $1.25.

IN Professor Clarke's Treasury of War Poetry there is a striking example of the spirit which makes great poetry; but this spirit manifests itself not among the great poets. It seems that in every case the great poet, that is, the poet accepted as pre-eminent among the poets of his

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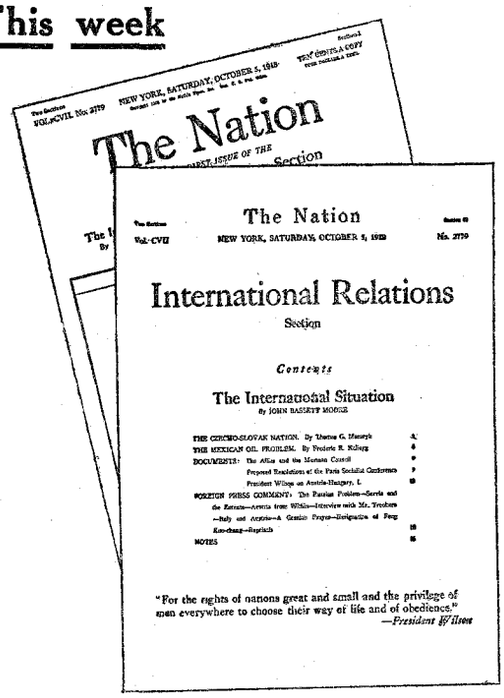
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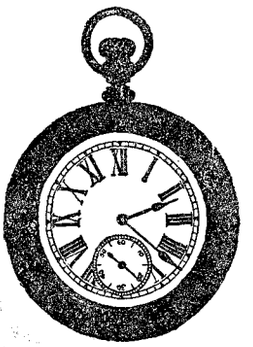

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